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ART. I. — *Études Historiques sur les Développements de la Société Humaine.* Par M. LOUIS J. KOENIGSWARTER, Docteur en Droit, Membre Correspondant de l'Institut, etc. Paris. 1850. 8vo. pp. 237.

THIS has narrowly missed being an instructive and entertaining book. The subjects are interesting; they are handled with a certain degree of skill, and the author displays considerable research; but his limits are too restricted for a due development of his matter, his illustrative facts are few and selected with little judgment, and the execution of his plan falls far short of its conception. Taking as a text several remarkable points in the dawn of modern civilization, he makes it his leading object to show that these are not confined to the nations of Teutonic and Celtic descent, but that they have their origin in the immutable elements of human nature, and that vestiges of them are to be found in the early records of all the great races. The idea is worthy of more elaborate treatment than it has received at the hands of M. Königswarter, but, like many other generalizations concerning human affairs, it is not susceptible of proof in all its ramifications. In various particulars the author therefore fails in his attempt, while in those in which his theory is true, his proofs are by no means as complete as they might have been made. His accuracy, also, is sometimes more than questionable. Thus, where, on the same page, we find Ossian gravely quoted as an historical

authority, and the speech of Achilles over the body of Patroclus placed in the mouth of Hector, we feel the necessity of verifying for ourselves all the facts advanced, and all the citations on which the arguments are based. Nor is this necessity diminished by observing that in many debatable questions the author takes the wrong side, guided apparently by the opinions of previous writers, rather than by a full and frequent reference to the original muniments, which are alone to be relied on as regards points of legal and political archæology.

Apart from the exact sciences, there is no subject which is more interesting, or which more fully repays the student, than the history of jurisprudence. When Austin Caxton devoted the labor of a lifetime to the "History of Human Error," he had for his theme the sorrows and the weaknesses of mankind from the birth of time; but more vast and instructive would be a history of the laws under which man has lived and died, each unit of the race struggling on his allotted path through joys and griefs fashioned for the most part by the invisible network of habits, customs, and statutes, which surround him on every side, and silently shape his daily actions. To the reflecting mind few popular quotations are so essentially false, or reveal so narrow a view of human affairs, as the often cited lines, —

> "How small, of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!"

Slender though the respect may be with which we regard our rotatory assemblymen and our partisan judges, still are they noteworthy personages. The parts are more important than the actors, and centuries hence it will be to our statutes and reports that the curious historian will resort to find out what manner of men were the restless and energetic Yankees who could found a gigantic empire, but could hardly govern themselves. Lawgiver and law-dispenser, — save the minister of God, what human being can have interests so vital confided to him, or can exercise so momentous an influence over his fellow-men? Cyrus and Alexander, Tamerlane and Genghis Khan, — their names alone remain, and the world is as though they had never been; but the laws of Confucius and Menou,

of Mahomet and Justinian, sway the destinies of races, for ages past and to come. When Arogast and Bodogast, Salogast and Windagast, assembled to draft into shape the rude customs of a roving and predatory tribe, they little thought that the Salique law which they founded would still, after the lapse of fourteen centuries, leave its impress on the nations subject to the spiritual power of that imperial Rome, the terror of whose name they were then just beginning to throw off. But codes are thus endowed with vitality only when they reflect the nature and the usages of the races for which they are compiled. The man and his law exercise a mutual reaction, and in the one we see an image of the other. The stern, resolute brevity of the Laws of the Twelve Tables furnishes the best corrective commentary on the easy credulity of Livy; making due allowance for divine inspiration, we see in the code of Moses the Hebrew character and polity portrayed in the strongest light and shade; and, in general, the historian who wishes to obtain or to convey a definite impression of a nation or of a period, must have recourse to the laws which regulated the daily life of the people, and which present, so to speak, an epitome of their character and actions. With this conviction, we have thought that it might not be without interest and profit to trace, in the dim light of antiquity, some rude outlines of the customs of the wild races that founded the European commonwealths.

In the German forests, Tacitus presents to us the picture of tribes living principally on the spoils of war or of the chase, aided by the imperfect agriculture of their slaves. Personal independence is carried to its extreme. The authority of the ruler, except when commanding a military expedition, is almost nominal, and scarcely extends beyond his immediate attendants, companions, or leaders. Each petty chief is under the control of the assembly of his sept, in which all the freemen gather in arms, and decide without appeal on all common interests. Dearest among their privileges is the right of private vengeance. The freeman who sustains an injury, and disdains to summon his enemy before the *mallum*, or judicial assembly of his tribe, may call together his family and friends, and exact what satisfaction he can with sword and

axe. The interminable warfare of hostile families is, however, in most cases, obviated by the principle of compensation for injuries, and every crime is rated at its appropriate price, which, on due proof being offered to the satisfaction of the judge, is paid to the injured party. As his relatives were bound to aid him in the quarrel, so are they entitled to share in the *wehr-geld*, or compensation. On the other hand, the criminal's family are held responsible for the fine, if poverty renders him unable to meet it, as are they also forced to defend him in the fray, if the peaceable mode of settlement be rejected. As regards the rest of the community, each family is thus a unit, directly responsible for the conduct of its members, the whole body sharing in the good or evil fortune of the individual. It is important to bear in mind this peculiarity, which explains much that is otherwise singular in the subsequent legislation of the Franks, leaving its traces late in the feudal law.

The oldest known text of the Salique law is but little if at all posterior to the conversion of Clovis to Christianity. Four hundred years have therefore intervened between the vigorous sketches of Tacitus, and the less picturesque, but more detailed, view presented by this primitive code. The changes produced in the interval are wonderfully small. A more complex state of society has arisen; government has assumed some power and stability under the iron energy and resistless craft of Clovis; fixed property and possessions have acquired importance; fields and orchards, gardens and bee-hives, mills and boats, appear as objects of value alongside of the herds and weapons which were the sole attractions when the Roman historian condescended to describe his barbarian neighbors. But the fundamental principles are the same, and the relations of the individual to his fellows remain unchanged. The right of private warfare still exists. The state is still an aggregate of families, rallying together for the field and for the court, and to sustain any of their members by force of arms, or by the course of justice. The forms of procedure are revealed to us, and we learn the efforts made to soften the native ferocity of the Frank, and the modes by which he is tempted to forego the privilege of revenge. Every offence against

persons or property is rated at its appropriate price, and a complete tariff of crime is drawn up, from the theft of a sucking-pig to the armed occupation of an estate, and from the wound of the little finger to the most atrocious of parricides; nor can the offender refuse to appear when duly summoned before the *mallum*, or claim the right of violent defence if the injured party has recourse to peaceable proceedings.

But between the commission of an offence and its proof in a court of justice there lies a wide field for the exercise of human ingenuity. The subject of evidence is one which has tasked man's powers of reasoning to the utmost, and the subtile distinctions of the Roman law, with its *probatio*, *præsumptio juris*, *præsumptio juris tantum*, — the endless refinements of the *renaissance* doctors, rating evidence in its different grades as *probatio optima*, *evidentissima*, *apertissima*, *legitima*, *sufficiens*, *indubitata*, *dilucida*, *liquida*, *evidens*, *perspicua*, and *semiplena*, — and the complicated rules of procedure which bewilder the modern legal student, — all alike show the importance of the subject and its extreme difficulty. The semi-barbarous Frank, impatient of such expenditure of logic, arrived at results by a shorter and more direct process. Some writers assume that the unsupported oath of the accused was originally sufficient to clear him of a charge, and they present an attractive fancy-sketch of the heroic times when a lie is cowardice, and the fierce warrior disdains to shrink from the consequences of his acts.* An assertion so improbable de-

* It may not be uninteresting to cast a rapid glance at the early legislation of Asia with regard to the judicial use of the oath. The laws of Menou regard it as a satisfactory mode of proof, and authorize its employment in these terms: —

"And in cases where there is no testimony, and the judge cannot decide upon which side lies the truth, he can determine it fully by administering the oath.

"Oaths were sworn by the seven great Richis, and by the gods, to make doubtful things manifest; and even Vasichtha sware an oath before the king Soudâmâ, son of Piyavana, when Viswâmitra accused him of eating a hundred children.

"Let not the wise man take an oath in vain, even for things of little weight; for he who takes an oath in vain is lost in this world and the next.

"Let the judge swear the Brahmin by his truth; the Kchatriya, by his horses, his elephants, or his arms; the Vaisya, by his cows, his corn, and his gold; the Soûdra, by all crimes." — Laws of Menou, Book VIII. v. 109, 110, 111, 113. (From Delongchamp's translation.)

The Chinese, on the other hand, in their primitive legislation, admitted no evi-

mands competent proof, and proof of it there is none in any of the "Leges Barbarorum." That some forms of oath were regarded with veneration there is no doubt, and isolated instances might be cited in which they were received. When the holy Gregory of Tours was cited for reproachful words truly spoken of the infamous Fredegonda, and her ferocious husband, King Chilperic, pressed the accusation with the full energy of his revengeful nature, all that such formidable adversaries could obtain from a council of bishops was, that the accused should relieve himself of the charge by oath on three altars, after celebrating mass on each, — a solemnity which was performed accordingly, doubtless more to the corporeal than spiritual health of the future saint; and two centuries later, in the presence of Charlemagne, Pope Leo III. cleared himself by the same ceremony from an accusation arising from the factions into which Rome was divided, the whole body of ecclesiastics having declared that the papal dignity should not be compromised by his submitting to an examination.* These, however, were exceptional cases, which

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dence of the kind, and in doubtful cases directed the acquittal of the accused. Thus Mou-vang (about 1000 B. C.), in the Chou-King, Part IV. Chap. XXVII. § 17, instructs the judges: "Where there is doubt in the cases subject to the five punishments, and in those admitting of composition, you shall pardon. . . . . Though many accusations are proved, you shall yet examine the appearances and the motives, and that which can be neither examined nor proved shall not be prosecuted. Enter not then into any discussion, but fear the wrath and the power of Heaven." (From Gaubil's translation.)

The Koran, considered as a system of jurisprudence, is singularly destitute of instructions for legal procedures. Chap. XXIV. v. 6 - 9, however, directs that a husband accusing his wife of infidelity, and having no witnesses, shall prove it by swearing to the truth of the charge five times, invoking the malediction of God upon himself, — the wife being able to rebut the accusation by a similar process; but as this chapter was revealed to the Prophet after he had writhed for a month under an accusation brought against his favorite wife Ayesha, — an accusation which he could not disregard, but did not wish to entertain, — the law is to be considered as *ex post facto*, rather than as signalizing any pre-existing custom.

All of these three Eastern codes present evidence more or less strong of the system of composition for crimes, or *wehr-geld*, which forms so conspicuous a portion of the early European legislation. The striking correspondence which exists in many points between the "Leges Barbarorum" and the laws of Menou — perhaps the most curious monument of human jurisprudence — is a subject of the highest interest, and worthy of an extended investigation.

* Annal. Fuldenses, ann. 800.

were especially reserved from the ordinary tribunals and from the regular procedure, and even in these we find evidence that the unsupported oath was not sufficient, without some guaranty thrown around it, — some formula of religion or law to give it weight. The whole history and legislation of those times abound with facts to prove that perjury was the most common of the crimes against which legislators had to guard, and that the accessories of the oath were looked upon as the main thing, — not the oath itself. Thus, in 680, according to Fredegarius, Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy, having defeated Martin, Duke of Austrasia, and wishing to entice him out of his strong-hold of Laon, sent to him by two bishops the royal reliquaries, on which the envoys swore that his life should be safe; but the cunning Mayor, having astutely removed the relics from their cases in advance, considered it a venial crime to put his enemy to death as soon as he was in his power. Three centuries and a half later, King Robert the Pious manifested an equally just idea of the nature of perjury, when, as related by the worthy monk Helgaldus, who is delighted with the expedient, he endeavored to save the souls of his friends by constructing two reliquaries, on which he received their oaths, — one for his magnates, splendidly fabricated of crystal and gold, but entirely empty, — the other for the common herd, plainer, and enshrining a bird's-egg. Knowing in advance that his lieges would be forsworn, he charitably sought to save them from sin in spite of themselves. All the chronicles and all the codes tell us the same tale, and the Emperor Lothaire I. only embodied the general impression of the uselessness of simple oaths when he issued a constitution prohibiting their administration in tithe cases on account of the risk of perjury. "Juramento vero," he crudely says, "eos constringi nolumus propter periculum perjurii." * We doubt not that in his day Hatto, Archbishop of Mayence, was looked upon as unnecessarily squeamish when he employed an ingenious

* Lex Longobard. Lib. III. Tit. III. § 10. — As there are various editions of these laws, differing in their arrangement, we may as well premise that our references are to the Collection of Lindenbrog, Frankfort, 1613.

fraud to put an end, in 906, to the Feud of Bamberg, which had desolated Germany for several years. King Ludwig-das-Kind, the last of the German Carlovingians, having been utterly unable to repress "tam ingens bellum inter eminentes viros," Hatto volunteered his services to entice the victorious Albert of Bamberg, ancestor of the ducal house of Austria, to a shameful death. Paying him, therefore, a friendly visit, the Archbishop urged him to seek an interview with the king, whom he represented as most favorably disposed, and solemnly swore to bring him back safe to his castle. On his departure Albert accompanied his guest beyond the walls, when Hatto, taking him by the hand, complained of hunger, and asked to return for a repast. Still keeping his grasp, they re-entered, and after refreshment Hatto again departed. His oath had been fulfilled, he had brought Albert back safely to his fortress, and when the lord of Bamberg sought his sovereign and was hurriedly executed, Hatto considered himself exempt from responsibility.*

The romantic theories of the purity of the wild Salian free-booters being evidently baseless, it will readily be believed that the energetic Frank who was clamoring for the restitution of stolen cattle, or a body of relatives eager to share the wehr-geld of some murdered kinsman, would scarcely submit to be balked of their rights at the simple cost of perjury to the criminal; and as the object of their legislators was to diminish as much as possible the exercise of the right of private warfare, some expedient was requisite, in doubtful cases, to conciliate the parties. From this necessity arose the remarkable custom of canonical compurgation. The accused, when denying the allegation under oath, appeared surrounded by a number of conjurators, — *juratores*, *conjuratores*, *sacramentales*, *collaudantes*, *compurgatores*, as they are variously termed, — who swore, not to their knowledge of the facts, but as sharers and partakers in the oath of denial. Their number was regulated by law, and varied with the magnitude of the objects at stake, or the heinousness of the alleged crime, and, among some tribes, with the rank of the parties.

* Luitprand. Antapod. Lib. II. c. 6. Marianus Scotus, ann. 908.

This curious form of procedure derives an importance from the fact, that it is an expression of the character, not of an isolated sept, but of nearly all the races that have moulded the history of Europe. The Wisigoths of the South of France and Spain, who early adopted the Roman law and moulded it to suit their habits, were the only nation in whose code it did not occupy a prominent place, and with them the oath of the defendant was admitted as satisfactory, in the absence of other testimony.* On the other hand, the Salians,† the Ripuarians, the Alamanni, the Baioarians, the Burgundians, the Lombards, the Frisians, the Saxons, the Angli and Werini, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Welsh, races springing from different origins, all gave to this form of compurgation a prominent place in their jurisprudence, and it reigned supreme from Southern Italy to the Trent, and from the Loire to Central Germany. During these early periods it was a special favorite with the Church, and was honored with the name of *purgatio canonica*, nor, when compared with the ruder and more mischievous ordeal and wager of battle, can we wonder that it should have obtained the ecclesiastical preference. In the sixth century, we find St. Gregory the Great ordering its employment in cases where husband and wife desired to deny the consummation of marriage.‡ In more enlightened times, however, the Church became actively opposed to it, and, as we shall see, was efficient in its abrogation.

Perhaps its influence on the history and habits of the people may best be illustrated by one or two examples. When Chilperic I. was assassinated in 584, grave doubts were suggested

* L. Wisigoth. Lib. II. Tit. II. § 5.

† Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, Lib. XXVIII. Chap. XIII.), with almost incredible superficiality, asserts that canonical compurgation was unknown to the Salique law, and from this assertion he proceeds to draw the most extensive deductions. Although it is referred to but twice in the *Lex Emendata* of Charlemagne (Tit. L. and LV.), still those references are of a nature to show that it was habitually practised, while the earlier texts, such as that of Herold, which in the edition of Eccardus was accessible to Montesquieu, contain precise directions for its use, designating the conjurator by the title of *Thalapta*. Even without this, however, the Merovingian and Carlovingian Capitularies, the Formulary of Marculfus, and the History of Gregory of Tours, should have preserved him from so gross an error.

‡ "Uterque eorum septima manu propinquorum juret quod nunquam carnaliter convenerunt." (Ap. Spelman.)

as to the legitimacy of his son Clotaire, an infant of four months, — doubts which neither the character of the child's mother, Queen Fredegonda, nor the rumors which circulated as to the manner in which Chilperic had been slain, had any tendency to lessen; and King Gontran, brother of the murdered king, did not hesitate to express his opinion that the royal infant's paternity was traceable to some one of the minions of the court, — "sed, ut credo, alicujus ex *leudibus* nostris sit filius." Satisfactory evidence in such cases is proverbially hard to obtain; but Fredegonda cleared her somewhat battered reputation, and secured the throne to her offspring, by appearing at the altar with three bishops and three hundred nobles, who all swore with her to the legitimacy of the little prince, and no further doubts were ventured on the delicate subject, — "et sic suspicio ab animis Regis ablata est."* As at this juncture Fredegonda was powerless, and Gontran directly interested in disinheriting the child, the ceremony was not an empty pageant nor a political demonstration, but an expression of the national customs in their most solemn form. Another equally striking illustration occurs at a later period, when, in 823, Pope Pascal I. was more than suspected of complicity in the murder of Theodore and Leo, two high dignitaries of the papal court. The commissioners sent by Louis le Débonnaire to investigate the facts, found on their arrival that Pascal had hastily purged himself of the crime, in anticipation of their coming, by an oath taken with a number of bishops as his compurgators; and though the assumed fault of the victims had been their attachment to the imperial party, and though the Pope had by force of arms prevented any pursuit of the murderers, there was nothing further to be done. Pope Pascal stood before the world an innocent man.†

The origin of this custom is to be traced to the principle of the unity of families. As the offender could summon his kindred around him, to resist the attack of the injured party, so he took them with him to the court, to defend him with their oaths, — a service not without danger, for, if the defence were subsequently proved false, they were liable to the penalties of

* Greg. Turon. Lib. VIII. cap. 9.

† Eginhard. Annal., ann. 823.

perjury. By a constitution of Pepin, king of Italy, they were punished with the loss of a hand, unless they could establish by ordeal that they had sworn in ignorance of the facts.* By the Salique law they were heavily fined.† Among the Frisians, each had to buy himself off by the amount of his own wehr-geld, — the value of his own head.‡ Accordingly, we find that the service was usually performed by the kindred, and in some of the earlier codes this is prescribed,§ but not universally. It was a duty enjoined on the family, but, as some tribes exacted very large numbers of conjurators for the acquittal of certain crimes, the necessity of finding strangers to assume the office is evident, as is shown in the case of Queen Fredegonda, quoted above. Perhaps the possibility of obtaining those not bound by family ties to undertake the office, is traceable to the liability which rested on a township in some instances for crime committed within its borders. M. Königswarter rejects this supposition as inadmissible, saying that the Friborgs of Edward the Confessor, long posterior to the period under consideration, are the earliest instance of such institutions. But traces of communal societies are to be found in the original texts of the Salique law,‖ supposed to be coeval with Clovis; and Childebert, in an edict of 595, holds the hundreds or townships responsible for robberies committed within their limits.¶

When calling in conjurators who were not kinsmen of the parties, it is not to be supposed that our ancestors were as

* Capit. Pepini, ann. 793, § 15. (Baluze.)

† L. Salica, Tit. L. §§ 3, 4.

‡ L. Frisonum, Tit. X.

§ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. XXI. § 9; L. Burgund, Tit. VIII.; and the Decretal of Gregory mentioned above. It is interesting to trace the Romanizing tendencies of the civil and canon law in modifying the original customs of the barbarians. Even this deeply-rooted principle of the unity of families gave way before such influences, and as early as the ninth century we find the Carlovingian legislation (Capitul. Benedict. Levit. Lib. VI. cap. 348) going to the other extreme, by prohibiting kinsmen from giving evidence in a cause between a relative and a stranger, — a provision borrowed from the Wisigoths (L. Wisigoth. Lib. II. Tit. IV. cap. 12). The rule, once established, maintained its place through the vicissitudes of the feudal law (Beaumanoir, Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Cap. XXXIX. § 38), down to a late period, in the Droit Coutumier (Coutumes de Bretagne, Tit. VIII. Art 161, 162).

‖ L. Salic. Tit. XIV. *De Migrantibus.* MS. 4404, Anc. Fonds, Bib. Roy. (Pardessus.)

¶ Decret. Childeberti, ann. 595, Cap. X. (Baluze.)

culpably negligent as we are as to the character of juries to whom are intrusted the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. Various regulations existed with regard to the mode by which they were admitted to the oath, differing with the race and period. Thus, among the Alamanni, in a trial for murder, the accused was obliged to secure the support of twenty chosen men, or, if he brought such as he selected himself, the number was increased to eighty.* In England, in some cases, fourteen men were named to the defendant, out of whom he had to find eleven willing to take the oath with him.† The Frisians required that the compurgators should be of the same class as their principal, and the lower his position in the state, the larger was the number requisite.‡ Some formulæ of Marculfus specify three freeholders and twelve friends of the defendant as necessary.§ A Merovingian edict of 593 directs the employment of three equals of the accused, with three others chosen for the purpose, probably by the court.‖ In a capitulary of 803, Charlemagne prescribes seven chosen conjurators, or twelve if taken at random.¶ Louis le Débonnaire decided that freemen owning no property were ineligible as witnesses, though capable of appearing as compurgators.** Among the Burgundians, the wife and children,

* L. Alaman. Tit. LXXVI.

† "Nominentur ei XIV., et adquirat XI., et ipse sit duodecimus." — L. Canuti, Cap. 66. In this form it practically amounts to trial by jury, and there is more probability in the belief that the origin of the jury trial is to be found in this regulation, than in many more ingenious surmises which have been hazarded upon the subject.

‡ L. Frision. Tit. I. This system of estimating the value of the oath by the position of the swearer is not unfrequent. Perhaps the laws of Canute, Cap. 127, express it more rudely than elsewhere, in specifying that the oath of a freeman is worth that of seven villains: — "Sacramentum liberalis hominis, quem quidem vocant *twelfhendeman*, debet stare et valere juramentum septem villanorum." The twelfhendeman meant a man whose price was 1200 solidi. So thoroughly was the custom of wehr-geld or composition established, that in England classes were named according to the value of their heads. Thus the villain or *cherleman* was also called *troyhindus* or *troyhindeman*, his wehr-geld being 200 solidi; the *radcniht* (road-knight, or mounted follower) was a *sexhendeman*; and, as we have seen, the comparative judicial weight of the oaths of the respective classes followed a similar rule.

§ "Insequentur vero post ipso tres alvarii et duodecim conlaudantes juraverant." — Marculf. App. XXXII. See also Ibid. XXIX.

‖ Pactus pro Tenore Pacis, Cap. VI. (Baluze)

¶ Capit. Carol. Mag. IV. ann. 803, § X. (Baluze.)

** Capit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 829, Tit. III. § VI. (Baluze.)

or, in their absence, the father and mother, of the accused were expected to make up the requisite number of twelve.* Charlemagne, however, objects to this, as leading to the swearing of children of tender and irresponsible age; and he further interdicts those who have once been convicted of perjury from again appearing as either witnesses or conjurators.† A formula of Marculfus proves that females were admitted when a woman was accused,‡ and M. Königswarter informs us that among the Welsh the same privilege was allowed the sex, while under the Lombard laws slaves and women in tutelage were often employed.

Variations are likewise observable in the form of administering the oath. Among the Alamanni, for instance, the compurgators laid their hands upon the altar, and the principal placed his hand over the others, repeating the oath alone,§ while, among the Lombards, a law of the Emperor Lothaire directs that each shall take the oath separately.‖ It was always administered, however, in a consecrated place, before delegates appointed by the judges trying the cause, sometimes on the altar, and sometimes on relics. A formula of Marculfus specifies the Capella Sancti Martini, or cope of St. Martin,¶ one of the most valued of the relics in the royal chapel, whence we may conclude that it was habitually used for that purpose in the business of the royal Court of Appeals.

There has been much discussion as to the exact nature and the legal weight of this mode of establishing innocence, or vindicating disputed rights. M. Königswarter assumes, that in the early period, before the ferocious purity of the German character had been adulterated with the remains of Roman civilization, this form of compurgation was used in all descriptions of cases at the option of parties, and was in itself a full and satisfactory proof, received on all hands as equal to any other. This view, we are confident, is erroneous. The earliest written evidence is against it, corroborated by all subsequent indications; and, for anterior periods, there is nothing but

* L. Burgund. Tit. VIII.
† Capit. Carol. Mag. I. ann. 789, § LXII. (Baluze.)
‡ Marculf. App. XXXIV.
§ L. Alaman. Tit. VI.
‖ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 28.
¶ Marculf. Lib. I. Form. XXXVIII.

mere conjecture. Tacitus is silent on the subject, and next to him in point of time is the early text of the Salique law, to which reference has already been made. In this it is specified that conjurators are to be offered only in cases where there is no certain proof to be had;* and, unfortunately for our author's theory, this direction disappears in subsequent revisions of the law, in which the Romanizing and Christianizing influences are fully apparent, — though we may safely assume from other contemporary documents that the rule was preserved in practice, and was omitted in the written law because taken for granted. He might have quoted a passage from the Lex Alamannorum, which would appear to support his theory in crudely saying, "Si quis hominem occiderit et negare voluerit, cum duodecim nominatis juret";† but it would not be safe to assume from this, that a murderer could escape simply by producing conjurators, for it is evidently only a careless phrase, since another section of the same law expressly provides that, where a fact is proved by competent witnesses, the defendant shall not have the power of producing compurgators.‡ The Baioarian laws interpose a similar limitation.§ It is therefore evident, that in the earliest times recourse to this mode of proof was an expedient adopted only in default of more satisfactory evidence, and on this necessity the rachinborgs or judges probably decided. That it was so in subsequent periods is generally admitted, and it is hardly worth our while to cite other proof than a capitulary of Louis le Débonnaire, in 819, to this effect,‖ and a law of the Emperor Lothaire, promulgated not long afterward.¶

* "Si quis hominem ingenuo plagiaverit, et probatio certa non fuit, sicut pro occiso juratore donet. Si juratores non potuerit invenire VIII M. den. . . . . culpabilis judicetur." — Tit. XXXIX. § 2. A similar provision occurs, Tit. XLII. § 5. (Pardessus.)

† L. Alaman. Tit. LXXXIX.

‡ Ibid. Tit. XLII.

§ "Nec facile ad sacramenta veniatur. . . . . In his vero causis sacramenta præstentur in quibus nullam probationem discussio judicantis invenerit." — L. Baioar. Tit. VIII. cap. 16.

‖ "Si hujus facti testes non habuerit cum duodecim conjuratoribus legitimis per sacramentum adfirmet," &c. — Capit. Ludov. Pii, I. ann. 819, § 1.

¶ "Si testes habere non poterit, concedimus ut cum XII. juratoribus juret." — L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. IX. § 38.

As it is thus apparent that conjurators were brought forward, not as witnesses, but merely as supporters of the defendant, it seems at first sight a little unreasonable that they should have been considered guilty of perjury, and subject to its penalties, in case of sustaining the wrong side of a cause; and it is probably owing to this inconsistency that some writers have denied their being involved in the guilt of their principal. Among others, the learned Meyer has fallen into this error.* We have already seen that the penalties provided for such cases were those of perjury; and if further proof be wanting, it is supplied by a clause in the Lex Alamannorum, which denies the privilege of canonical compurgation to any one who has previously been convicted of crime more than once, in order to save innocent persons from being involved with him in the guilt of perjury, — "ut propter suam nequitiam alii qui volunt Dei esse non se perjurent, nec propter culpam alienam semetipsos perdant." † It is to be borne in mind, however, while criticising the hardships to which conjurators were exposed, that the whole system was an absurdity, and that it could be redeemed only by rendering the office one not to be undertaken lightly. A man who was endeavoring to defend himself from a charge of murder, or who desired to confirm his possession of an estate against a competitor with a fair show of title, was expected to produce guaranties that would carry conviction to the minds of impartial men. As long as the practice subsisted, it was therefore necessary to invest it with solemnity, and to guard it with penalties that would obviate some of its disadvantages. That its attendant evils gradually became more apparent, we learn from a constitution of Otho II. in 983, abolishing the practice in cases of contested estates, on account of the enormous perjury to which it gave rise, and substituting the wager of battle. ‡ The system, however, had too deep a hold on the habits and modes of thought of the people to be suddenly abolished, and a hundred years later we find it in full vigor in the laws of William the Conqueror and Henry I. of England. In the first half of the

* Institutions Judiciaires, I. 317. (Pardessus.)

† L. Alaman. Tit. XLII. § 1.

‡ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 34.

twelfth century, the laws of Scotland, attributed to David I., furnish further proofs of its existence; and in the latter half of the same century, the Liber Feudorum, compiled by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, provides that the holder of a contested fief may, in default of other testimony, swear with twelve conjurators that the estate has descended to him lineally.* Nearly contemporary with this is Glanville's excellent treatise "De Legibus Angliæ," the earliest satisfactory body of legal procedure which the history of mediæval jurisprudence affords. In this there is but little mention of the custom, but that little shows it still in existence, though much circumscribed in use. A defendant who desired to deny the serving of a writ, could swear to its non-reception with twelve conjurators;† and a party to a suit, who had made an unfortunate statement or admission in court, could deny it by bringing forward two to swear with him against the united recollections and records of the whole court.‡ In both these cases those who took the oath could in no sense be regarded as witnesses, for the legal maxim that negatives are not susceptible of proof was fully understood and acted on at that time. The Assises de Jerusalem remark, that "nul ne peut faire preuve de non," and Beaumanoir, in the Coutumes de Beauvoisis, adduces ecclesiastical testimony to the same effect: "Li clerc si dient et il dient voir, que negative ne doit pas quevir en proeve."

At this period the custom is rapidly disappearing from the statute-book. On the one hand the powerful influence of the

* "Si vero probare non poterit prædicto modo, dabitur ei defensio cum XII. sacramentalibus." (Spelman.)

† Glanville, Lib. I. Cap. IX. Also, Lib. I. Cap. XVI., Lib. IX. Cap. I., Lib. X. Cap. V.

‡ "In aliis enim curiis si quis aliquid dixerit unde eum pœnituerit, poterit id negare contra totam curiam tertia manu cum sacramento, id se non dixisse affirmando." (Glanville, Lib. VIII. Cap. IX.) In the Assises de Jerusalem the same laudable object is attained by insisting on the employment of lawyers, whose assertions would not be binding on their principals: — "Et por ce il deit estre lavantparlier, car se lavantparlier dit parole quil ne doit dire por celuy cui il parole, celui por qui il parle et son conceau y pueent bien amender ains que le iugement soit dit. Mais se celuy de cui est li plais diseit parole qui li deust torner a damage, il ne la peust torner arieres puis quil la dite," etc. (Baisse Court, Cap. 133.) There is something very amusing in the *naïveté* of these unsophisticated modes of avoiding justice.

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Church, on the other the efforts of the rising school of subtile and enlightened jurists, now beginning to form themselves into a class, and full of enthusiasm for the rediscovered principles of the Roman law, conspired to overthrow this relic of credulous barbarism. Among the people, however, ignorant of Institutes and Decretals, it still lingered; and we may perhaps be pardoned, if, leaving for a moment the dry details of codes and constitutions, we translate a little ballad from the French of Audefroi le Bâtard, a renowned *trouvère* of the same period, which aptly illustrates the confidence which it still inspired.

LA BELLE EREMBORS.*

"Quand vient en mai, que l'on dit as lons jors," etc.

"In the long, bright days of spring-time,
In the month of blooming May,
The Franks from royal council field
All homeward wend their way.
Rinaldo leads them onward
Past Erembors' gray tower,
But turns away, nor deigns to look
Up to the maiden's bower.
Ah, dear Rinaldo!

"Full in her turret window
Fair Erembors is sitting,
The lovelorn tales of knights and dames
In many a color knitting.
She sees the Franks pass onward,
Rinaldo at their head,
And fain would clear the slanderous tale
That evil tongues have spread.
Ah, dear Rinaldo!

"'Sir knight, I well remember
When you had grieved to see
The castle of old Erembors
Without a smile from me.'
'Your vows are broken, princess,
Your faith is light as air,
Your love another's, and of mine
You have nor reck nor care.'
Ah, dear Rinaldo!

* Le Roux de Lincy, Chants Historiques Français, I. 15.

"'Sir knight, my faith unbroken
On relics I will swear;
A hundred maids and thirty dames
With me shall witness bear.
I've never loved another,
From stain my vows are free.
If this content your doubts and fears,
You shall have kisses three.'
Ah, dear Rinaldo!

"Rinaldo mounts the staircase,
A goodly knight I ween,
With shoulders broad and slender waist,
Fair hair and blue eyes keen.
Earth holds no youth so gifted
In every knightly measure.
When Erembors beholds him,
She weeps with very pleasure!
Ah, dear Rinaldo!

"Rinaldo in the turret
Upon a couch reposes,
Where deftly limned are mimic wreaths
Of violets and of roses.
Fair Erembors beside him
Sits clasped in loving hold,
And in their eyes and lips they find
The love they vowed of old!
Ah, dear Rinaldo!"

Ducange furnishes us with another extra-judicial instance, occurring a century later, in 1288, which shows that the ceremony was still regarded with reverence, as determining matters which could not be reached by ordinary evidence. In a solemn treaty of peace between two turbulent houses, one of the principals agrees to swear, with seven of his friends, that he had not rejoiced at, but deeply regretted, the death of his antagonist, whom the context would lead us to believe he had assisted in killing.* Some time previous to this, however, the custom may be considered as expunged from among the authorized legal forms of Western and Southern Europe. A

* "Li Hermite jura sur sains, li vuitiesme de ses amis, que bien ne li fu de la mort Raolin d'Argées, ains l'en pesa plus que biau ne l'en fu." — Ducange, Dissertation sur les Guerres Privées. Mem. de Joinville.

slight allusion to it, indeed, occurs in a collection of the laws of Normandy dating from the commencement of the thirteenth century, sufficient to show that it was still in existence, yet shorn of all importance;* but it has entirely disappeared from various contemporary codes. In 1220 the Emperor Frederic II. promulgated the "Constitutiones Sicularum," a system of jurisprudence greatly in advance of what had preceded it, and showing the remarkable influence which the Roman law was beginning to exercise over the Teutonic element. The Assises de Jerusalem, or code constructed for the government of the Latin kingdoms of the East, although originally compiled in 1099, under Godfrey of Bouillon, has reached us only in the form which it assumed about the period under consideration. Both of these bodies of law are destitute of any allusion to canonical compurgation, showing how completely it was falling into disuse by the common consent of legislators. Nor yet is it referred to in the Coutumes du Beauvoisis, written by Beaumanoir in 1283, which give us so thorough an insight into the struggle between feudalism and the enlightened centralization aimed at by the reforms of St. Louis. Still, in a much later period, a faint reflection of its influence may be traced in the laws of Brittany, as revised in 1539, in a provision by which a man claiming compensation for property taken away is to be believed on oath as to his statement of its value, provided he can produce credible witnesses to depose "qu'ils croyent que le jureur ait fait bon et loyal serment";† but even this last vestige disappears in the revision of the Coutumier made by Henry III. in 1580. In Germany, however, the practice in its original form as a mode of compurgation was maintained to a much later period than in France, M. Königswarter quoting an instance which occurred in 1548; while in Sweden it was a recognized form of procedure for a century later, as is shown by a statute of Queen Christina in 1653.

The influence of the Roman hierarchy was a powerful element in the gradual abrogation of a custom so deeply

* Tit. *de Défautes*, Établissements de Normandie, published by Marnier, Paris, 1839.

† Anc. Cout. de Bretagne, Tit. VIII. art. 168.

rooted in the minds and feelings of the people. That influence in the Middle Age was almost always on the side of intelligence, except where the material or spiritual interests of the Church were involved; and before the revival of the Roman law, at a time when the clergy were almost the sole depositaries of legal learning, the tendency of litigation was to centre in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave the petty sessions of ignorant and tyrannical *seigneurs justiciers*. All motives conspired, therefore, to add vigor to the determination of the popes to put an end to forms by which justice could be so readily perverted, or at best was left to the decision of chance. Their warfare against the judgment by ordeal and the wager of battle was long and arduous; that against compurgation by oath was earlier successful; and when the great champion in the quarrel, Innocent III., towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, decreed that compurgators were held to swear only to their belief in the truth of the oath taken by their principal,* he attacked the very foundation of the practice, and gave a powerful impulse to the tendency of the times no longer to regard the compurgator as sharing the guilt or innocence of the accused. The guaranty which had thus originally existed was withdrawn; the proceeding was shorn of its solemnity, and could no more present itself as offering security worthy the confidence of the people, or sufficient to occupy the attention of a court of justice. That it should fall into contempt when thus diverted from its original meaning was most natural, and that it should have maintained its ground so long is a striking proof of the vitality of error where it has once succeeded in completely obtaining the confidence of the ignorant.

An interesting branch of the question, which our author passes over without notice, is whether the plaintiff or accuser had the right to fortify his position by conjurators. With but one exception, the "Leges Barbarorum" are silent on this point, and we should conclude that the practice was unknown, if the exception were not of a striking character. Some of

* "Illi qui ad purgandam alicujus infamiam inducuntur, id solum tenentur juramento firmare, quod veritatem credunt eum dicere qui purgatur." — Bignon. Notæ ad Marculfum.

the earlier texts of the Salique law contain a section* commanding in certain cases the accuser or plaintiff to sustain his action with a number of conjurators varying with the amount at stake; a larger number is required of the defendant in reply, and it is presumed that the judges weighed the probabilities on either side, and rendered their verdict accordingly. The directions are so precise, that there can be no doubt that in early times the custom prevailed to a limited extent, at least among certain tribes of the Franks, and it is an additional proof of the separate individuality of each house or family as distinguished from the rest of the sept. In England the Anglo-Saxon laws require, except in trivial cases, an oath from the accuser (*ante-juramentum*, or *præjuramentum*), and William the Conqueror enforced this by demanding the addition of conjurators.† As the oath had reference not to the facts of the case, but solely to purity of intention on the part of the accuser, those who took it with him were in no sense witnesses.

When man is emerging from barbarism, the struggle between the rising powers of reason and the waning forces of credulity, superstition, prejudice, and custom, affords an interesting and instructive spectacle. Wise in our generation, we laugh at the inconsistencies of our forefathers, which, rightly considered as parts of the great cycle of human progress, are rather to be respected as trophies of the silent victory, pursuing its irresistible course by almost imperceptible gradations, and most beneficent when least conspicuous. When, therefore, in the darkness of the Middle Age, we find the elements of pure justice so strangely intermingled with the arbitrament of force, and with the no less misleading decisions of chance dignified under the forms of Christianized superstition, we should remember that even this is an improvement on the all-pervading first law of brute strength. We should not wonder that semi-barbarous tribes require to be enticed towards the conceptions of abstract right, through pathways which,

* Tit. LXXIV. of Herold's text. Cap. XVIII. of the Capita Extravagantia of Pardessus.

† "Et li apeleur jurra sur lui jur set homes nomes, qui pour haur nel fist, ne pur altre chose, si pur son dreit non purchacer." — L. Guillel I. cap. 16. (Wilkins.)

though devious, may reach the goal at last. When the strong man is brought, by whatever means, to yield to the weak, a great conquest is gained over human nature; and if the aid of a higher power is invoked, however mistakenly, to aid in the struggle, we may regret the necessity, but when enjoying the result we have no right to stigmatize the means by which Providence has seen fit to bring it about. With uneducated nations, as with uneducated men, sentiment is stronger than reason, and sacrifices will be made to the one which are refused to the other. If therefore the fierce warrior, who is resolute in maintaining an injustice or a usurpation, can be brought to submit his claim to the chances of an equal combat or of an ordeal, he has already taken a vast step towards acknowledging the empire of right, and abandoning the personal independence which is incompatible with the relations of human society. It is by such indirect means that mere aggregations of individuals, each relying on his sword and right hand, have been gradually led to endure regular forms of government, and, becoming organized nations, to cherish the abstract idea of justice as indispensable between man and man. Viewed in this light, the ancient forms of procedure lose their ludicrous aspect, and we contemplate their whimsical jumble of force, faith, and reason, as we might the first rude engine of Watt, or the "Clermont" which painfully labored in the waters of the Hudson, — a clumsy affair when compared with the "Persia" or the "Adriatic," but yet venerable as the origin and prognostic of subsequent triumphs.

There is a natural tendency in the human mind to cast the burden of its doubts on the shoulders of a higher power, and to relieve itself from the trouble of decision by seeking in mystery the solution of its difficulties. From the fetish-worshippers of Congo to the polished sceptics who frequented the *salon* of Mlle. le Normant, the distance, though great, is bridged over by this common weakness; and whether an omen for the future, or information of the past, be sought, the impulse is the same. When, therefore, in the primitive *mallum*, the wisdom of the rachinborgs was at fault, and the absence or equal balance of testimony rendered a verdict difficult, what was more natural than to seek a decision by appealing to the

powers above, and to leave the matter to the judgment of God? Nor, with the warlike instincts of the race, is it surprising that this appeal should have been made to the God of battles, to whom, in the ardor of newly found and imperfect Christianity, they looked in every case for a special interposition in favor of innocence and justice. The curious mingling of modes of procedure is well illustrated by a form of process prescribed in the Lex Baioariorum.* A man comes with six conjurators into court, and claims an estate; the possessor defends his right with a single witness, who must be a landholder of the vicinage, and whose testimony is sufficient to outweigh the six, whose oaths are only affirmative of that of their principal. The claimant then attacks the veracity of the witness: — "Thou hast lied against me. Grant me the single combat, and let God make manifest whether thou hast sworn truth or falsehood!" † — and according to the event of the duel is the decision as to the truthfulness of the witness and the ownership of the property.

In discussing the judicial combat, it is important to keep in view the distinction between the wager of battle as a legal institution, and the custom of duelling, which has obtained with more or less regularity among all races and in all ages. When the Horatii met the Curiatii, or when Antony challenged Octavius to decide the empire of the world with their two swords, these were isolated proposals to save the unnecessary expenditure of blood, or to gratify individual hate. When the *raffiné* of the times of Henri Quatre, or the modern fire-eater, wipes out some imaginary stain in the blood of his antagonist, the duel thus fought, though bearing a somewhat greater analogy to the judicial combat, is derived, not from this, but from the right of private vengeance which was common to all the Teutonic tribes, and from the subsequent right of private warfare which was the exclusive privilege of the gentry in feudal times. The established euphuistic formula of demanding "the satisfaction of a gentleman" thus designates both the object of the custom

* Tit. XVI. Cap. I. § 2.

† "Mendacium jurasti contra me: sponde me pugna duorum, et manifestet Deus si mendacium an veritatem jurasti contra me."

and its origin. Being nearly akin, however, to the battle ordeal, and having survived that institution, the duel has inherited somewhat of dignity, and has been to a certain extent modified in succeeding to its elder brother; but the distinction between the two can always be discerned. When, after the Sicilian Vespers, the wily Charles of Anjou was sorely pressed by his victorious rival, Don Pedro I. of Aragon, and, fearing a general revolt of his Neapolitan subjects, desired to gain time, he sent a herald to Don Pedro to accuse him of bad faith in having commenced the war without a defiance. The fiery Catalan fell into the snare, and, to clear himself of the charge, offered to meet his accuser in single combat. Both parties swore upon the Gospels to decide the question, a hundred on each side, on the neutral territory of Bordeaux, and Charles, having obtained the requisite suspension of arms, easily found means to avoid the *champ clos*.* Though practically this challenge may differ little from that of Antony, — the stake in reality being the crown of the Two Sicilies, — still its form was that of a judicial duel, the accused Don Pedro offering to disprove the charge of *mala fides* on the body of his accuser. When Francis I., in idle bravado, flung down the gauntlet to Charles V., it was not to save half of Europe from fire and sword, but simply to clear himself from the well-grounded charge of perjury brought against him by the Emperor for his non-observance of the Treaty of Madrid. This, again, wore the form of the judicial combat, whatever might be the motives of private hate or public gasconade that influenced the ill-regulated mind of the last imitator of the follies of chivalry.† The distinction is perhaps even more striking in the celebrated duel fought, in 1547, between La Chaistaigneraie and Jarnac, so piteously mourned over by honest old Brantôme, which signalized the commencement of the reign of Henry II. It is noted as the last instance in France of compurgation by battle, having been conducted with all the judicial ceremonies, in presence of the king, to clear Jarnac from a disgusting accusation brought by his adversary. Re-

* Ramon Muntaner, Cap. LXXII. † Du Bellay, Mémoires, Liv. III.

sulting most unexpectedly in the death of Chaistaignerie, who was a favorite of the king, the monarch was induced to put an end to all legalized combats, though the illegal institution of the private duel continued to flourish, and increased beyond all former precedent during the succeeding half-century, — Henry IV. having granted, in twenty-two years, no less than seven thousand letters of pardon for duels fought in contravention of the royal edicts. The modern mode of obtaining satisfaction is so repugnant to the spirit of our age, that we can scarcely be surprised that this last relic of barbarism should be generally regarded as descended from the ancient wager of battle; but, as we have observed, the two have coexisted as separate institutions, and, though perhaps drawing their origin remotely from the same habits and customs, yet they followed different channels, were practised for different ends, and were conducted with different ceremonies. The object of the one was vengeance and reparation; the theory of the other was the discovery of truth.

Our theme is limited to the combat as a judicial process, and therefore, leaving untouched the vast harvest of amusing anecdote afforded by the monomachial propensities of modern times, we will briefly consider the history of the legal duel, from its origin to its final abrogation. Confined to the nations of Modern Europe, unknown to classical antiquity or to the ancient civilizations of the East, it is not a little singular that the custom should have prevailed, with such general unanimity, from Spartivento to the North Cape, and that, with but one or two exceptions, all the European races, differing in so many points, should have adopted this with such common spontaneity, that we cannot assign its origin with certainty to any one of them. It would seem to have been autochthonic with them all, and the theories which attribute its paternity especially to the Burgundians, to the Franks, or to the Lombards, are equally destitute of foundation. The earliest reference to the practice occurs in a passage quoted by M. Königswarter from Livy, in which the historian describes a Spanish tribe as settling civil suits by combat, when no other

convenient solution presented itself.* Cæsar, however, makes no mention of such a custom among the Gauls, nor does Tacitus among the Germans; † and their silence on the subject must be accepted as conclusive, since a system so opposed to the theories of the Roman Law could not have failed to impress them had it existed. If the fabulous age attributed by the early historians to the Danish monarchy be accepted as credible, we may quote from Saxo Grammaticus a statement that Frotho III. or Great, about the Christian era, introduced the practice among his subjects, employing it in all cases; ‡ and, however apocryphal the chronology may be, it yet shows the immense antiquity attributed to the custom, even in those ancient times. Spelman quotes the proceedings of an Irish synod, said to have been held in 432 by St. Patrick, which, if genuine, present us with the earliest reference to the practice after the irruption of the barbarians, Canon VI. providing that an appeal to the sword by a clerk shall subject him to expulsion from the Church. § As this was about the epoch of the conversion of the Irish, the allusion would seem to signalize a deeply rooted pre-existing custom. Towards the end of the same century, King Gundobald caused the laws of the Burgundians to be collected, and among them

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* "Quidem lites quas disceptando finire nequiverant aut noluerant, pacto inter se ut victorem res sequeretur, ferro decreverunt." — Lib. XXVIII. Cap. XXI.

† A passage in "De Moribus Germaniæ," Cap. X., is commonly quoted as showing the existence of the duel as a means of evidence among the Germans, but erroneously. When about to undertake an important war, one of the enemy was captured and obliged to fight with a chosen champion, and from the result an augury was drawn as to the event of the war. Those who quote this custom, however, overlook the vast difference between a special omen of the future, and a proof of the past in the daily affairs of life.

Ducange alludes to an expression in Paterculus as proving that the judicial appeal to the sword was customary among the Germans; but we cannot believe that such is the meaning of the passage, diffident though we are in dissenting from so absolute an authority. Paterculus merely says (Lib. II. Cap. CXVIII.), in describing the stratagems which led to the defeat of Varus, "et solita armis decerni jure terminarentur." Taken with the context, this would appear to refer merely to the law of the strongest, which obtains among all savage tribes.

‡ "Ut de qualibet controversia ferro decernetur; speciosius viribus quam verbis conflingendum existimans." — Saxo Gram. Hist. Dan. Lib. V. (Wilkins.)

§ "Clericus ille solvat debitum, nam si armis compugnaverit cum illo, merito extra ecclesiam computetur."

the wager of battle is so conspicuous, that it obtained the name of Lex Gundebalda, or Loy Gombette, giving rise to the belief that it originated among that race. Although this is an error, the practice among them must evidently have been of old date to have been ramified so completely throughout their jurisprudence. Numerous early instances of the "pugna duorum" among the Salian Franks are to be found in Gregory of Tours, and yet in the ordinary texts of the Salique law no mention is made of it. In one manuscript, however, it is alluded to as a regular form of procedure.* We must not infer, however, from this silence, that the custom was not legalized among them; for the same silence is observed in the "Lex Emendata" of Charlemagne, while the Capitularies of that monarch frequently allude to it as the last appeal in doubtful cases. The offshoots of the Salique law, the Lex Ripuariorum, Lex Alamannorum, and Lex Baioariorum,† all of which bear a very strong family resemblance to their common parent, in their constant reference to the "campus," show how thoroughly it pervaded the entire system of Germanic jurisprudence. The Lombards were, if possible, even more addicted to settling their differences in this manner. Their earliest laws, compiled by King Rotharis in 643, seventy-six years after their occupation of Italy, make constant reference to the practice; and when Luitprand, more enlightened than his contemporaries, endeavored about a century later to abolish it, he found the national prejudices too powerful for him, and was obliged to rest content with some ineffectual efforts to limit the extent of its application, and to diminish the penalties incurred by the defeated party. He took care, however, to leave on record a strong expression of his disbelief in its justice, and of his desire to do away with it altogether.‡

* "Si tamen non potuerit adprobare .... et postea si ausus fuerit pugnet."—Leyden MS. Cap. XXXVIII., Capita Extravagantia of Pardessus.

† Compiled by Thierry, son of Clovis, afterwards revised successively under Childebert and Clotaire II., and finally by Dagobert I. about the year 630. The latter form is that in which the laws have mostly reached us.

‡ "Gravis causa nobis esse comparuit, ut sub uno scuto, per unam pugnam, omnem suam substantiam homo amittat. .... Quia incerti sumus de judicio Dei; et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justa causa suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostræ, Longobardorum legem impiam vetare non possumus." — L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. IX. § 23.

The laws of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Frisians likewise bear testimony to the widely extended prevalence of the custom.* We have seen the extreme antiquity attributed by Saxo Grammaticus to the wager of battle among the Danes, and the same author informs us that the institution was abolished by Harold the Simple, about the year 1075.† In Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, it was in full vigor for nearly a century later. Among the Welch it prevailed to a considerable extent, and though Hoel Dha, when he revised their code in 914, endeavored to put an end to the practice, he was unable effectually to eradicate it.

It is not a little singular that the judicial combat appears to have been unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. Employed so extensively as legal evidence throughout their ancestral regions, by the kindred tribes from which they sprang, the races among whom they settled, and the Danes and Norwegians who became incorporated with them, — harmonizing, moreover, with their general habits and principles of action, — we might deem it impossible that they should not likewise have introduced it. That such was the case is one of the anomalies which defy speculation, and we can only mention the fact, that it is not referred to in any of the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish codes, and that there seems to be no doubt that its introduction into English jurisprudence dates only from William the Conqueror.‡

The only other barbarian race among whose laws the

* E. g. L. Angliorum et Werinorum, Tit. I. Cap. III. and Tit. XV. — L. Saxon. Tit. XV. — L. Frison. Tit. V. Cap. I. and Tit. XI. Cap. III.

† M. Königswarter asserts that this change occurred on the conversion to Christianity of Harold Blaatand by Bishop Poppo, in 965. Saxo Grammaticus, however, who was almost a contemporary, attributes it to Harold the Simple, son of Swen Estrith.

‡ "Si Francigena appellaverit Anglum .... Anglus se defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri vel duello..... Si autem Anglus Francigenam appellaverit et probare voluerit judicio aut duello, tunc volo Francigenam purgare se sacramento, non duello." — Decreta Guillelmi Bastardi. (Wilkins.) The distinction thus drawn between the races seems a little surprising, when immunity from the duel is accorded as a privilege to the generous Norman blood. The decree, however, appears to have been issued very shortly after the Conquest, and William may have been afraid that his scattered countrymen might be cut off in detail by legal means. In a subsequent statute the distinction was withdrawn. (Legg. Guillel. Conquest. Cap. LXVIII. et seq.)

battle trial found no place was the Wisigothic, and with them the exception is susceptible of a readier explanation. They were the earliest of the invaders who succeeded in forming a permanent occupation of the conquered territories; and settling, as they did, in Narbonensian Gaul and Spain, while the moral influence of Rome was yet all powerful, the imperial institutions exercised a much greater effect upon them than on the subsequent bands of Northern invaders. Accordingly, we find their code based almost entirely upon the Roman jurisprudence, with such modifications as were essential to adapt it to a ruder state of society. Its nicely balanced provisions and careful distinctions offer a striking contrast to the shapeless legislation of the races that followed, and neither the judicial combat nor canonical compurgation found a place in their code. Even the ordeal would appear to have been unknown until a period long subsequent to the conquest of Aquitaine by Clovis, and but little previous to their overthrow in Spain by the Saracens. The introduction of the Frankish element, however, brought with it Frankish customs; and in the celebrated combat before Louis le Débonnaire between Counts Bera and Sanila, who were both Goths, we find the "pugna duorum" claimed as an ancient privilege of the race, with the distinction of its being equestrian, in accordance with Gothic usages.*

Nor was the wager of battle confined to races of Celtic or Teutonic origin. The Slavonic tribes, as they successively emerge into the light of history, show the same tendency to decide doubtful points of civil and criminal law by an appeal to the sword; and in the earliest records of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Servia, Silesia, Moravia, Pomerania, Lithuania, and Russia, M. Königswarter finds evidence of the prevalence of the system.

In the primitive codes of the barbarians, there is no distinction made between civil and criminal law; indeed, bodily punishment being almost unknown, except with regard to slaves, and nearly all infractions of the law being visited with fines, there was no necessity for such niceties, the matter at

* Ermold. Nigell., De Reb. Gest. Ludov. Pii, Lib. III. — Astron. Vita et Acta Ludov. Pii, Cap. XXXIII.

stake in all cases being simply money or money's worth. Accordingly, we find the wager of battle used indiscriminately, both as a defence against accusations of crime, and as a mode of settling cases of disputed property, real and personal. No doubt, in its origin, it was employed only in the absence of satisfactory evidence, and the judges or rachinborgs decided as to the propriety of its application. Some of the early codes refer to it but seldom, and allude to it as employed in but few cases.* This reticence, however, was not of long duration; for it was a favorite mode of determining questions of perjury, and there was nothing to prevent a suitor, who saw his case going adversely, from accusing an inconvenient witness of false swearing, and demanding the "campus" to prove it,— a proceeding which adjourned the main case, and likewise decided its result.† This summary process, of course, brought all actions within the jurisdiction of force, and deprived the judges of all authority to prevent the abuse. Indeed, so completely was the control taken out of the hands of the judiciary, that with the lapse of time it finally became competent for a defeated party to challenge the court itself, and thus obtain a reversal of judgment at the point of his sword. In the twelfth century, Glanville confesses his doubt whether the court could depute its quarrel to a champion, or whether the judge delivering the verdict was bound to defend it personally, and also what, in case of defeat, was the legal position of the court thus convicted of unjust judgment.‡ A hundred years later, we

* Thus the Lex Salica, as we have seen above, can hardly be said to recognize the existence of the practice. The Lex Ripuariorum refers to it but four times; the Lex Alamannorum but six times; while it fairly bristles throughout the cognate code of the Baioarians.

† A proof of this has already been quoted from the L. Baioar. Tit. XVI. Cap. I. § 2. See also Capit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 819, Cap. XV.: "At si alia vice duo vel tres eum de furto accusaverint, liceat ei contra unum ex his cum scuto et fuste in campo contendere." For this reason, perhaps, the witness came into court armed, and had his weapons blessed on the altar before giving his testimony. If defeated, he was fined, and obliged to make good any damage which his evidence might have caused to his opponent. L. Baioar. Tit. XVI. Cap. V.

‡ "Curia ..... tenetur tamen judicium suum tueri per duellum. ..... Sed utrum curia ipsa teneatur per aliquem de curia se defendere, vel per alium extraneum hoc fieri possit, quero," etc. — De Leg. Angl. Lib. VIII. Cap. IX. As the military and judicial professions were usually combined at that period, this proceeding was not so extraordinary as it may appear to us.

learn the solution of these knotty points from Beaumanoir, whose elaborate directions prove the wide prevalence of the custom, and the restrictions with which legists were endeavoring to abridge it. Some caution was necessary; for the disappointed pleader who did not manage matters rightly might find himself pledged single-handed to a combat with all his judges at once, and, as the bench consisted of a collection of the neighboring gentry, the result might be to confirm the sentence in a manner more emphatic than agreeable. The penalty imposed on a judge vanquished in such an appeal was severe, — in civil cases, a heavy fine and deprivation of the judicial function; in criminal ones, death and confiscation, — "il pert le cors et quanques il a." In capital cases, however, the appeal did not lie, while in civil causes the suzerain, before whom the appeal was made, could refuse it when the justice of the verdict was self-evident.*

Arising, as we have seen, thus spontaneously from the habits and character of so many races, it is no wonder that the wager of battle, adapting itself to their various usages, became so permanent an institution. Its roots lay deep amid the recesses of popular superstition and prejudice, and its growth was correspondingly strong and vigorous. In this it was greatly assisted by the ubiquitous evils which presented themselves from the facility for perjury afforded by the practice of sacramental oaths and conjurators, and it seems to have been regarded by legislators as the only remedy for the crime of false swearing everywhere prevalent. Thus Gundobald assumes that its introduction into the Burgundian code arose from this cause.† Charlemange urged its use as greatly preferable to the shameless oaths which were taken with so much facility,‡ while Otho II., in 983, ordained its use in various forms of procedure, for the same reason.§ It can hardly be

* Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. §§ 39, 45, 47, 50, 62.

† "Multos in populo nostro et provicatione causantium et cupiditatis instinctu ita cognoscimus depravari, ut de rebus incertis sacramentum plerumque offerre non dubitent et de cognitis jugiter perjurare," etc. — L. Burgund. Tit. XLV.

‡ "Ut palam apparet quod aut ille qui crimen ingerit, aut ille qui vult se defendere, perjurare se debeat, melius visum est ut in campo cum fustibus pariter contendant quam perjurium absconse perpetrent." — Capit. Car. Mag. ex Lege Longobard. Cap. XXXIV. (Baluze.)

§ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 34.

deemed singular, in view of the manners of the times, and the enormous evils for which a remedy was sought, that the effort was made in this mode to impress upon principals and witnesses the awful sanctity of the oath, by enforcing a liability to support it by an appeal to arms under imposing religious ceremonies. Be this as it may, we have abundant evidence of its frequent use. Charlemagne, when dividing his vast empire, thought necessary to forbid its employment in settling the territorial questions that might arise among his heirs,* — a useless precaution, since they all preferred to mingle secret treachery with open force, but one which shows that this arbitrament was in common use in affairs of the highest magnitude, while the constant allusions to its employment, in the capitularies, indicate how favorite a mode it was of settling private quarrels.

All this, however, found a consistent opponent in the Church. When King Gundobald gave form and shape to the "pugna duorum" in digesting the Burgundian laws, Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, remonstrated loudly against the practice, as unjust and unchristian. A new controversy arose on the occasion of the duel between Counts Bera and Sanila, to which we have already referred as an important event in the reign of Louis le Débonnaire. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, seized the occasion to address to the Emperor a treatise, in which he strongly deprecated the appeal to arms, as well as the employment of ordeals in settling judicial questions. Some thirty-five years afterwards, in 855, the Council of Valence denounced the battle-trial in the strongest terms, praying the Emperor Lothaire to abolish it throughout his dominions, and resolving that the victor in such contests should be excommunicated, and the victim be denied the rites of Christian sepulture.† Pope Nicholas I. and other pontiffs protested against it, and exerted themselves energetically, but ineffectually, to procure its abandonment. Meanwhile, a defender had arisen in the person of the fiery Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who, in warmly espousing the cause of the unfortunate Tiet-

* "Nec unquam pro tali caussa cujuslibet generis pugna vel campus ad examinationem judicetur." — Charta Divis. Carol. Mag. ann. 806, Cap. XIV.

† Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Lib. 49.

birga, repudiated by King Lothaire, had occasion to support, with all the energy of his nature, the claims of the judgment of God to human respect. The opposing efforts of the Church would appear to have been attended with little success, and we find traces of the judicial combat during the darkness of the next century, — the most obscure in the history of the Middle Age. About the year 930, Hugh, king of Provence and Italy, becoming jealous of his uterine brother, Lambert, Duke of Tuscany, asserted him to be a supposititious child, and ordered him for the future to claim no relationship with himself. Lambert, being "vir ..... bellicosus et ad quodlibet facinus audax," contemptuously denied the aspersion, and offered to clear all doubts as to his birth by the wager of battle. Hugh accordingly selected a warrior named Teudinus as his champion. Lambert was victor in the ensuing combat, and was universally received as the undoubted son of his mother. His triumph, however, was short-lived; for Hugh soon after succeeded in making him prisoner, and deprived him of eyesight.* Towards the middle of the same century, Otho the Great appears, throwing the enormous weight of his influence into the scale. A magnanimous and warlike prince as he was, the wager of battle appears to have possessed peculiar attractions for his chivalrous tendencies, and he extended its application as far as lay in his power. Not only did he force his daughter Liutgarda, in defending herself from a villanous accusation, to forego the safer modes of compurgation, and to submit herself to the perils of a judicial combat, but he also caused the abstract question of representation in the succession of estates to be settled in the same manner; and to this day in Germany the division of a patrimony between children and grandchildren is regulated by the doughty arms of the champions who fought together nine hundred years ago at Steil.† His son, Otho II., carried out his father's views. We have already alluded to his substituting the judicial duel for sacramental oaths, in 983, and we find him at the same time

* Luitprand. Antapod. Lib. III. cap. 46.

† Palgrave, Hist. Normandy, II. 633. In both these cases Otho may be said to have had ancient custom in his favor. See L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. XII. § 2; L. Alamann. Cap. add. XXII. and Cap. LVI. and LXXXIV.

abandoning the immemorial policy of the barbarians, which permitted to all subject races the enjoyment of their ancestral laws, by forcing the Italians in this respect to adopt the customs of their conquerors.*

Under such auspices, and stimulated by the rising spirit of chivalry, it is no wonder that the judicial duel acquired fresh importance, and was more extensively practised than ever. All classes of society, from the highest to the lowest, were liable to be called to defend their rights in the field. We have already alluded to several instances in which kings exchanged cartels, and more might readily be given, such as the challenge between the Emperor Henry the Black and Henry I. of France during an interview at Ipsch in 1056.† The Champion of England, who figures in the coronation pageant of Westminster Abbey, is a relic of the times when it was not an empty ceremony for the armed and mounted knight to fling the gauntlet, and proclaim aloud that he was ready to do battle with any one who challenged the right of the new monarch to his throne. From the time of Henry I. the office of king's champion was one of honor and dignity.

As regards the lower orders, innumerable documents attest the right of peasants to the appeal of battle, and even Jews were sometimes admitted to the privilege, as we learn from a decision of 1207, preserved in an ancient register of assizes in Normandy. ‡ By the old Lombard law, slaves were allowed to defend themselves in this manner, § and among the Frisians a *litus* claiming his liberty was allowed to assert it against his master with arms. ‖ This, however, was long anterior to the period under consideration; but even in the time of Beaumanoir (1283), although an appeal would not lie from a serf to a freeman, we may safely infer from the context that a

* "Quacunque lege, sive etiam Romana, in omni regno Italico homo vixerit, hæc omnia ut in his capitulis per pugnam decernemus observare." — L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 38.

† Lambert. Schaffnaburg. ann. 1056.

‡ Assises de l'Echiquier de Normandie, p. 114. (Marnier.)

§ "Servus ejus tunc per pugnam aut per sacramentum se defendat si potuerit." — L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. XXV. § 49.

‖ L. Frision. Tit. XI. Cap. III.

combat could be legally decreed between two serfs, if the consent of their masters was obtained.*

Women, ecclesiastics, and those suffering under bodily infirmity, were generally excused from appearing personally in the lists, but they were bound to produce a champion to defend their cause. So universal was this rule, that, as we learn by the Assises de Jerusalem, when from poverty the suitor was unable to provide a substitute, the suzerain was bound to supply the expenses for forty days; and when a murdered man left no relatives to prosecute the criminal, the suzerain was obliged to furnish the champion in any trial which might arise. † But even women were not always exempt from the necessity of personal defence. In some parts of Germany, as we learn from M. Königswarter, a custom existed by which a female defended herself from calumny by meeting her accuser in deadly combat, the chances being equalized by burying the man to his waist, tying his left hand behind his back, and furnishing him with a mace, while his weaker opponent had the free use of her limbs, and was armed with a heavy stone, securely fastened in a piece of stuff. Ecclesiastics also sometimes yielded to warlike aspirations, in contravention of the rules of the Church, as appears by a constitution of William the Conqueror in 1080, subjecting them to a fine by way of punishment, when the bishop's permission had not been obtained;—"Si clericus duellum sine episcopi licentia susceperit aut assultum fecerit, episcopo per pecuniam emendetur." In 1140 Pope Innocent II. found it necessary to denounce the practice of ecclesiastics appearing either personally or by champions.‡

Cases which came within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts — including all which related directly or indirectly to marriages and testamentary provisions — were naturally exempted from the arbitrament of the sword, but, with this exception, nearly every possible matter of litigation may be considered as liable to the wager of battle. We have seen that, under Otho the Great, even an abstract question was resolved in this manner; and a more remarkable case occurred

* Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Cap. LXIII. § 1.
† Assises de Jerusalem, Cap. 266 and 267.
‡ Ducange.

in Spain in the eleventh century, when the fiery and indomitable Hildebrand endeavored to enforce the observance of the Roman liturgy in Castile and Leon, in lieu of the Gothic or Mozarabic rite. With considerable difficulty, Navarre and Aragon had, some years before, been led to consent to the change, but the Castilians were attached to the observances of their ancestors, and stoutly refused compliance. In 1077 Alphonso I. procured the assent of a national council to the change, but the people rebelled, and, after repeated negotiations, the question was referred for decision to the sword. The champion of the Gothic rite was victorious, and tradition adds, that a second trial was made by the ordeal of fire; a missal of each kind was thrown into the flames, and the national liturgy emerged triumphantly, unhurt.*

Nearly contemporary with this was the celebrated case of Otho, Duke of Bavaria, — perhaps the most noteworthy example of judicial appeal to the sword, as it proved the commencement of the terrible Saxon war, and of the troubles which, aggravated by the skilful hand of Hildebrand, pursued the unfortunate Emperor Henry IV. to his grave, and did so much to establish the temporal supremacy of the Pope. A worthless adventurer, named Egeno, accused the proud and powerful Otho of conspiring against the Emperor's life. In a Diet held at Mayence, the Duke was commanded to do battle with his accuser within six weeks. According to some authorities, his pride rebelled against meeting an adversary so very far beneath him; according to others, he was prevented from appearing in the lists only by the want of a safe-conduct, which the Emperor refused him. Be this as it may, the appointed term elapsed, judgment was taken against him by default, and his duchy was confiscated accordingly. It was bestowed on Welf, son of Azo d'Este and of Cunigunda, descendant and heiress of the ancient Guelfic Agilolfings, and thus, on the basis of a judicial duel, was founded the second Bavarian house of Guelf, from which have sprung so many royal and noble lines, including their Guelfic Majesties of Great Britain. Some years later, the Emperor offered to

* Ferreras, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, Trad. d'Hermilly, III. 245.

disprove in the same manner a similar accusation brought against himself by Duke Reginger, of endeavoring to assassinate his rival, Rodolph of Suabia. A day was appointed for the combat, which was prevented only by the opportune death of Reginger immediately before it.*

The implicit confidence reposed in the battle ordeal is well illustrated by a case, in which a sacrilegious thief named Ansel stole the sacred vessels from the church of Laon, and sold them to a merchant. The latter swore secrecy, but, frightened at the excommunications pronounced by the authorities of the plundered church, he revealed the name of the robber. Ansel denied the charge, offered the wager of battle, defeated the unhappy receiver of the stolen goods, and was proclaimed innocent. Encouraged by the immunity, he committed the same offence a second time, was convicted, and confessed the previous crime. Learned doctors were consulted, who unhesitatingly pronounced that the merchant had suffered for the violation of the oath he had sworn to Ansel, and the reputation of the duel remained intact.†

There were some restrictions, however, imposed, and the judicial combat was not allowed for matters below a certain value. Thus, among the Angli and Werini, the minimum limit was two solidi,‡ while the Baioarians permitted it for a cow, or any matter of greater value.§ In later times, Otho II. decided that six solidi should be the smallest sum worth fighting for.‖ William the Conqueror appears to have enacted no limit; but Henry I. decreed that, in civil cases, the appeal of battle should not lie for a less amount than ten solidi.¶ In France, Louis le Jeune, by an edict of 1168, forbade the duel

* Lambert. Schaffnaburg. ann. 1070, 1073, 1074. — Conrad. Ursperg. ann. 1071.— Bruno de Bello Saxon.

† Duclos, Mémoire sur les Épreuves.

‡ L. Anglior. et Werinor. Tit. XV. The variations of the coinage are so numerous and so uncertain, that to express the values of the solidus, or sou, at the different periods and among the different races enumerated, would occupy more space than we could afford. In general terms, we may remark that the Carlovingian solidus was the twentieth part of a pound of silver, and, according to the researches of Guérard, was equivalent in purchasing power to about thirty-six francs of modern money. The marc was half a pound of silver.

§ L. Baioarior. Tit. VIII. Cap. II. § 5, and Cap. III.

‖ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Cap. LV. § 37. ¶ Legg. Henrici I. Cap. 59.

when the sum in question was below five solidi.* In the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem, the minimum was a silver marc.†

While the custom remained at its height, either party to an action might, as a general rule, demand the judicial duel. When Beaumanoir composed his "Coutumes du Beauvoisis," in 1283, the practice may be considered to have entered on its decadence; twenty years had elapsed since the energetic efforts of St. Louis to abolish it; substitutes for it in legal procedure had been provided, and the manner in which that enlightened jurist manifests his preference for the peaceful forms of law, shows that he fully entered into the civilizing spirit in which the monarch had endeavored to soften the ferocity of his subjects. When, therefore, we see in Beaumanoir's treatise how few restrictions existed in his time, we may comprehend the previous universality of the custom. In criminal cases, if an accuser offered battle, the accused must either accept it or confess, unless he could prove an alibi; or unless the accuser himself was notoriously guilty of the crime in question, and the accusation was evidently intended merely to baffle justice; or unless, in case of murder, the murdered man, when dying, had disculpated him and had named the real criminals.‡ If the accused demanded battle, the judge could refuse it only when his guilt was too notorious for question.§ A serf could not challenge a freeman, nor a bastard a man of legitimate birth (though an appeal of battle lay between two bastards), nor a leper a sound man.‖ In civil actions it was not allowed in cases relating to dower, to orphans under age, to guardianships, or to the equity of redemption afforded by the feudal laws to kinsmen in the sale of heritable property, or when the matter at stake was of less value than twelve deniers.¶ The slenderness of these restrictions shows what ample opportunities

* Ducange. † Assises de Jerusalem, Cap. 149.

‡ Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. § 2; Chap. XLIII. § 6.

§ Ibid., Chap. LXI. § 2; Chap. XXXIX. § 12.

‖ Ibid., Chap. LXIII. §§ 1, 2, 10.

¶ Ibid., Chap. LXIII. §§ 11, 13, 18. The denier was the twelfth part of the solidus or sou.

were afforded to belligerent pleaders; and when we add the privilege of challenging judgments, which obtained almost everywhere, and the facilities enjoyed for forcing witnesses to defend their testimony sword in hand, we may conclude that practically it lay with either party to elect whether a suit commenced in court should be decided in the field. We have already alluded to the appeal of judgment; the challenging of testimony was so much a matter of right, that, in deference to the custom, ecclesiastics and women were not receivable as witnesses in lay courts in cases where appeal of battle might arise.* If the evidence of any particular witness were especially obnoxious, a favorite mode of disposing of it was to accuse him of some crime rendering him incapable of testifying; he was then obliged to fight, either personally or by champion, in order to have his evidence admitted.† A simpler mode, however, was to assert roundly that the witnesses were perjuring themselves, and to offer to prove it against one of them *corps à corps*; when, in case of his defeat, the cause was gained, no subsequent testimony being admitted after so emphatic a decision by the Universal Judge.‡ The result of this system was, that, in causes subject to appeal, no witness could be forced to testify, unless his principal entered into bonds to see him harmless in case of challenge, to provide a champion, and to make good all damages in case of defeat; § though it is difficult to understand how this could be satisfactorily arranged, since the penalties inflicted on a vanquished witness were severe, being, in civil causes, the loss of a hand, and a fine at the pleasure of the suzerain, and, in criminal actions, "il perderoit le cors avecques." ‖ The only limit to this abuse was that witnesses were not liable to challenge in cases concerning matters of less value than five sous and one denier.¶

In some countries, however, the facilities for these appeals to the sword were not so extensive. In Catalonia, for in-

* Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. XXXIX. §§ 30, 31, 66. — Assises de Jerusalem, Cap. 169.

† Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. VI. § 16.

‡ Ibid., Chap. LXI. § 58.

§ Ibid., Chap. LXI. § 59.

‖ Ibid., Chap. LXI. § 57.

¶ Ibid., Chap. XL. § 21.

stance, the judge alone had the power of deciding whether the wager of battle was admissible; in Montpellier the assent of both parties was requisite; while in Béarn it was permitted only in the absence of testimony.* On the other hand, in Normandy, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, many cases relating to real estate were examined in the first instance by a jury of twelve men, and, if they failed of a unanimous verdict, the question was decided by the judicial duel, whether the parties desired it or not.†

The wrong and injustice wrought by the immense extension of so senseless a custom must have become manifest to all thinking men, and gradually there arose an opposition to it on the part of enlightened legislators. The Church never entirely pretermitted her efforts to eradicate the prejudices left by primitive barbarism, and, as civilization advanced, she was from time to time aided by the secular power. Alexander III. in 1179, and Innocent III. in 1215, fulminated decretals against the wager of battle, and by their influence no doubt led to the first efficient steps towards its abolition. These were taken in 1220 by the Emperor Frederic II., who in the "Constitutiones Sicularum" pronounced the custom to be "non tam vera probatio quam quædam divinatio .... quæ naturæ non consonans a jure commune deviat, æquitatis rationibus non consentit," and prohibited it for the future, except in cases of murder and high treason, where other proof could not be had; and even in these, he placed it at the option of the accuser alone, in order to render it a punishment, not a trial.‡ St. Louis, not long afterward, followed his example, and among the ameliorations which he so earnestly endeavored to introduce was the abolition of the wager of battle, by the celebrated Ordonnance of 1260. This was productive of little immediate effect; for though the elaborate and judicious system of inquests which he tried to substitute for the duel no doubt eventually exercised a powerful influence in inducing his people to adopt the more rational and safer

* Libell. Catalan. MS. — Stat. Montispess. ann. 1204. — Fori Benecharnenses, Rubr. de Batalha, Art. I. (Ducange.)

† Établissements de Normandie, *passim*. (Marnier.)

‡ Constit. Sicular. Lib. II. Tit. XXXII. XXXIII.

mode of settling disputes, still he had no power to force this innovation into the courts of the innumerable petty *seigneurs justiciers*, high and low, among whom the administration of justice was parcelled out through the kingdom, and his own personal domains were all that he could control.* The barons and gentry were not disposed to promote the humanizing views of the king; the prejudices of birth, the strength of feudal principles, the force of chivalric superstition, the pride of self-reliance, were too powerful; and to these we may add the prompting of self-interest, for the seigneur in whose court an appeal of battle was tried received from the defeated party a fine of sixty livres if we was a gentleman, and sixty sous if a villein, — no inconsiderable sum, — besides a perquisite of the horses and arms employed, and heavy mulcts for any delays which might be sought.† The most that could be expected, then, was that the suitor might be allowed the privilege of electing between the ancient custom and the new law. Even Beaumanoir, who in most things was far in advance of his age, and who assisted so energetically in the work of centralization which at that period was so rapidly undermining the feudal power, — even so acute and far-seeing a jurist hesitates to object to the principles involved in the battle trial, and hints his disapprobation in terms which contrast strongly with the vigorous language of Frederic II. and the stern exhortations of the Church.‡ It would be too much, however, to expect implicit obedience to so great an innovation, when the example of disregarding it was set in the royal court itself, as is shown by a case in which Philippe le Hardi, son and successor of St. Louis, presided at a judicial duel,

* This utter want of power in a sovereign so much beloved and respected is a striking indication of the political condition of the times. Beaumanoir states it formally: "Car tout cil qui ont justice en la conté poent maintenir lor cort, s'il lor plest, selonc l'ancienne coustume; et s'il lor plest il le poent tenir selonc l'establissement le Roy." (Chap. XXXIX. § 21.) And again: "Car quant li rois Loïs les osta de sa cort il ne les osta pas des cours à ses barons." (Chap. LXI. § 15.)

† Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. §§ 11, 12, 13.

‡ "Mult a de perix en plet qui est de gages de bataille, et mult est grans mestiers c'on voist sagement avant en tel cas," etc. (Ibid., Chap. LXIV. § 1.) "Car ce n'est pas coze selonc Diu de soufrir gages en petite querele de meubles ou d'eritages; mais coustume les suefre ès vilains cas de crieme," etc. (Ibid., Chap. VI. § 31.)

about the year 1283, scarcely more than twenty years after the promulgation of his father's edict.* The next monarch, Philippe le Bel, was a persevering and successful enemy of feudalism in all its forms. Under his astute and energetic rule the royal power increased enormously, and in 1296 he prohibited trial by battle in time of war, and in 1303 interdicted it entirely.† One of the first acts of his son, Louis le Hutin, in 1315, however, was to restore it in criminal cases, where other proof was deficient.‡ But the tide again turned when Philippe de Valois, in 1330, evoked all appeals from the local courts to the Parliament of Paris, and put an end to the revoking of judgment at the sword's point.§ The rising spirit and importance of the Tiers-État also contributed powerfully to diminish the frequency of these appeals to the sword. The sturdy bourgeois, though ready enough with morion and pike to defend their privileges, preferred a more reasonable and peaceful mode of settling litigation; numerous charters of communes granted during these periods contain clauses exempting the citizens from liability to the judicial combat; and when, in 1396, Charles VI. issued an edict,‖ ordering throughout his kingdom that the testimony of women should be received in court, we see how completely the custom of challenging witnesses must have fallen into desuetude.

M. Königswarter states that the last formal wager of battle decreed by the Parliament of Paris took place in 1386, between two bourgeois, on an accusation of adultery. We presume that he alludes to the celebrated duel between the Chevalier de Carongne and Jaques le Gris, described so picturesquely by Froissart, which the king and all his court shortened a campaign to witness, and in which the appellant had as his second Waleran, Count of St. Poule, son-in-law of the Black Prince. As described by the old chronicler, the scene is striking. The Dame de Carongne, eager to avenge

* Coutumes du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. § 63.

† Königswarter, p. 216.

‡ "Nous voulons et octroions que en cas de murtre, de larrecin, de rapt, de trahison, et de volurie, gage de bataille soit ouvert, se les cas ne poroient estre provez par temoings." (Ducange.)

§ Ordonnance of May 9, 1330. (Monteil.)

‖ Neron. Récueil d'Édits, I. 16.

her cruel wrong, is clothed in black and mounted on a sable scaffold, from which, placing her trust in God, she witnessed the varying chances of the unequal combat between her husband, weakened by disease, and his vigorous adversary, knowing that, if strength alone prevailed, he must die a shameful death, and she be dragged to the stake. At length, after a grievous wound, when all seems lost, the avenger drives his sword through the body of his prostrate enemy, and vindicates his wife's honor and his own good cause. But Froissart was too good an artist to risk the effect of his picture by too rigid an adherence to facts, and he omits to mention, what is told by the cooler Juvenal des Ursins,* that Le Gris was subsequently proved innocent by the death-bed confession of the real offender. The Anonyme de St. Denis† adds, that the unhappy Dame de Carongne, overcome by remorse at having unwittingly caused the disgrace and death of an innocent man, ended her days in a convent. The result of this trial is said by some writers to have been the cause of the abandonment of the practice.

No further trace of the combat as a judicial procedure is found in the registers of the Paris Parliament,‡ and it may be considered as thenceforth practically obsolete among the people, though not yet expunged from the statute-book. Not long afterward, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, formally abolished it throughout his dominions, and in the Coutumier of Burgundy, as revised by him in 1459, there is no trace of it. The code in force in Brittany until 1539 permitted the wager of battle in cases of treason, theft, and perjury, — the latter as usual extending it over a considerable range of civil actions.§ Normandy was even later in formally abrogating the custom; for it was not until the revision of her Coutumier in 1583, under Henry III., that the privilege of deciding in this manner numerous cases, both criminal and civil, was legally abolished.‖ Still, the law was practically a dead letter

* Hist. de Charles VI., an. 1386.

† Hist. de Charles VI., Liv. VI. Chap. X.

‡ Buchou, Notes to Froissart, II. 537.

§ Tres Ancienne Cout. de Bretagne, Chap. 132, 134. (Bourdot de Richebourg.)

‖ Ancienne Cout. de Normandie, Chap. 53, 70, 71, 73, etc. (Bourdot de Richebourg.)

among the hard-headed roturiers, though occasionally some fiery gentleman claimed the right of deciding his quarrel at the risk of his life. Thus, in 1482, shortly after the battle of Nancy had reinstated René, Duke of Lorraine, on the ruins of the second house of Burgundy, two gentlemen of the victor's court, quarrelling over the spoils of the battle-field, demanded the *champ-clos;* it was duly granted, and on the appointed day the appellant was missing, to the immense discomfiture and no little loss of his bail.* In 1538, Francis I. granted a combat between Jean du Plessis and Gautier de Dinteville, which would seem to have been entirely a judicial proceeding, since the defendant, not appearing at the appointed time, was condemned to death by sentence of the high council, Feb. 20, 1538.† We have already alluded to the case of Chaistaignerie and Jarnac, in which the death of the former caused Henry II. to declare the judicial combat abolished. Two years later, however, in 1549, he yielded to the request of Jaques de Fontaine, Sieur de Fendille, who wished to repel at the sword's point an accusation brought against him by Claude Daguerre, Baron de Vienne-le-Châtel; but, while violating the spirit of his resolution, the king maintained its letter, by deputing the granting of the combat to Robert de la Marck, Marshal of France and sovereign prince of Sedan. The affair accordingly took place, to the discomfiture of Fendille.‡ This is the last recorded instance of the wager of battle in France; but long before this, the custom had lost all practical importance. After a struggle of centuries, the jurist had vanquished the knight-errant, the pen had triumphed over the sword, and this relic of the Sicambrian forests no longer represented the thoughts and feelings of the age, though the Council of Trent still deemed it worth while to renew the thunders of Alexander and of Innocent.

In England, however, the resolute conservatism which resists merely theoretical innovation caused this mediæval solecism to remain as a blot on the common law to a much later period. Until the reign of Elizabeth, the wager of battle was legal in civil cases, though it had practically fallen into disuse,

* D. Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine.

† Ducange.

‡ D. Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine.

when in 1571 it was abolished, as Spelman says, "non sine magna jurisconsultorum perturbatione," in consequence of its employment in the case of Low et al. *vs.* Paramore. To determine the title to an estate in Kent, Westminster Hall was forced to adjourn to Tothill Fields, and the forms of a combat were gone through, though an accommodation between the parties saved the skulls of the champions.* It was not, however, thought requisite to extend the reform to the criminal law, and the nineteenth century was disgraced by the escape of a homicide who availed himself of the battle trial in an appeal of murder. The case of Ashford *vs.* Thornton created much excitement, when Lord Ellenborough was forced to admit the right of the accused to use his hands to save his neck, and expounded the law in almost the same terms as those which we read in Bracton or in Beaumanoir. The curious crowds of cockneys were sorely disappointed when the plaintiff cried "craven," and the Chief Justice was released from presiding over a gladiatorial exhibition. The act of 59 Geo. III. c. 46, at length put an end for ever to this last remnant of the age of chivalry.†

We have not left ourselves space to treat at length of the ceremonies and forms observed in the judicial duel. These varied considerably in different ages and countries, and the minute directions which have come down to us, compiled for the guidance of the judges of the lists, would expand unduly an article already too long, without adding much to illustrate popular customs and modes of thought. Suffice it to say, that the general principle throughout was the absolute assertion by each party of the truth of his cause, to which effect a solemn oath on the Gospels, or on a relic of approved sanctity, was administered before the conflict commenced. Defeat was thus not merely the loss of the suit, but was also a conviction of perjury, to be punished accordingly; and in criminal cases it was further an evidence of malicious prosecution on the part of a worsted appellant. Accordingly, we find the vanquished party, whether plaintiff or defendant, subjected to penalties more or less severe, according to time and

* Spelman, Gloss. p. 103.

† Campbell, Chief Justices, III. 169.

place. Thus Louis le Débonnaire, in 819, decreed that, in cases where testimony was evenly balanced, a witness should be chosen from each side to fight it out, the defeated champion suffering the usual penalty of perjury, — the loss of a hand, — while the other witnesses on the same side were allowed the privilege of redeeming theirs at the legal rate.* William the Conqueror placed a fine of forty sous on the losing side, a regulation which was re-enacted by Henry Beauclerc.† Bracton and the Fleta both state that a vanquished appellant is not liable to as severe a punishment as a vanquished defendant,‡ and the same distinction is observed in the ancient codes of Normandy, when a husband sought to prove a wrong forcibly inflicted on his wife.§ This latter case, however, is identical with the one related above of Carongne and Le Gris, where we have seen that accuser and accused were under liabilities of punishment precisely similar, and such was the general practice. Thus, in the Frankish kingdoms of the East, on an appeal of murder, whichever party was defeated was hanged in his spurs,‖ and various other instances have already been alluded to in our remarks on the challenging of witnesses.

We cannot dismiss the subject without a few words on a remarkable peculiarity of these combats, — the employment of champions. In the wide application of the principle as a legal procedure, it is very evident that parties unable to wield the sword or club would frequently be called upon to defend their rights, and even a scanty measure of justice would require that they should have the power to delegate the office to some more potential vehicle of the Divine decision. Originally this would seem to have been the duty of some member of the family, as we have seen was the case with the "compurgatio canonica." Among the Alamanni, for instance, a woman when accused could be defended by a kinsman,

* Capit. Ludov. Pii, ann. 819, Cap. X. A somewhat similar provision occurs in the L. Burgund. Tit. XLV. and LXXX.

† Decreta Guillel. Bastardi. — Legg. Henrici I. (Wilkins.)

‡ Bracton, Lib. III. Tract. II. cap. 21, § 7. — Fleta, Lib. I. cap. 34, § 32. (Ducange.)

§ Établ. de Normandie, Tit. "De prandre fame à force." (Marnier.)

‖ Assises de Jerusalem, Cap. 317.

"cum tracta spata";* the same rule is prescribed by the Lombard law† and by that of the Angles,‡ while the pervading principle of family unity would lead us to presume that it prevailed throughout the other races in whose codes it is not specifically mentioned. As regards the employment of substitutes, however, for those who were able to protect themselves, there appears to have been considerable diversity of practice in these primitive times. The laws of the Franks, of the Alamanni, and of the Saxons, make no allusion to such a custom, and evidently expect the principal to defend his own rights. From some expressions made use of by Agobard in his attack on the battle ordeal, we are led to conclude that under Louis le Débonnaire the employment of champions, in the Burgundian law, was, if not forbidden, at least unusual, even in cases where age or debility unfitted the suitor for the contest.§ On the other hand, the Baioarians, with whom the duel was very prevalent, allude to the employment of champions in every instance,‖ and with the Lombards the judicial combat and the champion appear to have likewise been convertible terms.¶ There is something in this so repugnant to the fierce and self-relying spirit in which the wager of battle found its origin, and the use of a professional gladiator is so inconsistent with the pious reference to the judgment of God which formed the only excuse for the whole system, that we are forced to attribute its introduction to the liberty allowed of challenging witnesses. To this we have already alluded, and its prevalence throughout Western Europe readily enabled parties unwilling themselves to encounter the risks of the deadly struggle to put forward some truculent bravo who swore point-blank, and whose evidence would need to be got out of court. Although the custom of hiring champions must have existed

* L. Alamann. Add. Cap. XXI.

† L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. III. § 6, and Lib. II. Tit LV. § 12.

‡ L. Anglior. et Werinor. Tit. XIV.

§ "Accidit ut frequenter non solum valentes viribus, sed etiam infirmi et senes lacessantur ad certamen et pugnam etiam pro vilissimis rebus." — Agobard, De Impietate Duellici Exam. (Ap. Spelman.)

‖ L. Baioar. *passim.*

¶ "Liceat ei per campionem, id est per pugnam, crimen ipsum de super se si potuerit ejicere." — L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. I. § 8.

from a very early period, since the Frisian laws speak unblushingly of paid champions,* still the best evidence of their original identity with witnesses is to be found at a later date in England, where, until the first Statute of Westminster, issued by Edward I. in 1275, the hired champion of the defendant in a suit concerning real estate was obliged to assume the position of a witness, by swearing that he had been present and had seen seizin given of the land, or that his father when dying had enjoined him by his filial duty to maintain the defendant's title as though he had been present.† And, in a similar spirit, the early code of Normandy prescribes that champions shall be taken to see the lands or buildings in dispute before receiving the oaths of battle, in the same manner as a jury of view.‡ Looking on the profession of a champion in this light, as that of a false witness, we can understand the heavy penalties to which he was subjected in case of defeat, and that, while the principal escaped with fine or imprisonment, the hired ruffian was hanged, or at best lost a hand or foot, — the immemorial punishment for perjury.§ Another and a more practical reason for maintaining this severity is supplied by Beaumanoir, who defends it on the ground of the liability of champions to be bought over by the adverse party. The gentle stimulus of prospective mutilation was therefore held before them to induce them to fight vigorously.‖ This was doubtless the object of retaining the custom, long after its origin had been lost sight of.

With such risks to be encountered, it is no wonder that the trade offered few attractions to honest men, who could keep

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* Licet unicuique pro se campionem mercede conducere, si eum invenire potuerit." — L. Frision. Tit. XIV. Cap. IV.

† Glanville, De Leg. Angl. Lib. II. Cap. 3.

‡ Établ. de Normandie, p. 21. (Marnier.)

§ "Victus vero in duello centum solidos et obolum reddere tenebitur. Pugil vero conductitius, si victus fuerit, pugno vel pede privabitur." — Charta, ann. 1203. (Ducange.) — Also, Beaumanoir, Cout. du Beauv., Chap. LXVII. § 10. Ducange has misinterpreted this passage. See also Monteil's excellent Histoire des Français des Divers États, XVe Siècle, Hist. XIII.

‖ "Et li campions vaincus a le poing copé; car se n'estoit par le mehaing qu'il emporte, aucuns par barat, se porroit faindre par loier et se dameroit vaincus, par quoi ses mestres emporteroit le damace et le vilonie, et cil emporteroit l'argent; et por ce est bons li jugemens du mehaing." — Cout. du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. § 14.

body and soul together in any other manner. Reckless desperadoes, skilled at quarter-staff, or those whose familiarity with sword and dagger, earned by a life spent in brawls, gave them confidence, might undertake it as an occupation which exposed them to little risk beyond what they habitually incurred; and of such was the profession generally composed. The evil of this must have early made itself apparent, for we find Charlemagne endeavoring to obviate it by decreeing that no robber should be allowed to appear in the lists as champion; and the order needed to be frequently repeated.* Accordingly, the occupation was deemed infamous; its professors were classed with the vilest criminals, and with the unhappy females who exposed their charms for sale, as the champion did his skill and courage.† They were, therefore, held incapable of appearing as witnesses, and the extraordinary anomaly was afforded of seeking to learn the truth in affairs of the highest moment by a solemn appeal to the Most High, through the instrumentality of those who were already considered as convicts of the worst kind, or, by the very act, were branded with infamy if successful, and, if defeated, were hanged or mutilated. It is consequently not singular that numerous efforts were made to put an end to this state of affairs. Otho II., whose laws did so much to give respectability to the wager of battle, decreed that champions should be permitted only to counts, ecclesiastics, women, boys, old men, and cripples;‡ but this must have been speedily disregarded, for within fifty years we find Henry II. forbidding the use of champions to able-bodied defendants simply in cases of parricide or of aggravated murder;§ and two hundred years later, when Frederic II. abolished the

* "Ut nemo furem camphium de mancipiis aut de qualibet causa recipere præsumat, sicut sæpius Domnus Imperator commendavit." — Capit. Carol. Mag. ex L. Longobard. Cap. XXXV. (Baluze.)

† "Percutiat si quis hominem infamem, hoc est lusorem vel pugilem, aut mulierem publicam," &c. Wichbild Magdeburg, Art. 129. (Ducange.) — "Plusieurs larrons, ravisseurs de femmes, violleurs d'églises, batteurs à loyer," &c. Ordonn. de Charles VII. ann. 1447. — Also, Anciennes Coutumes de Bretagne. (Monteil, *ubi sup.*)

‡ L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. §§ 38 and 40.

§ L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. IX. § 37, and Tit. X. § 4.

"campus" in Naples, we are led from his expressions to presume that champions were almost universally employed.* Henry II. of England, in 1150, forbade the hiring of professional gladiators in his Norman dominions,† and we learn from Glanville that a champion suspected of serving for money might be objected to by the opposite party, whence arose a secondary combat, to prove his eligibility for the primary one.‡ The regulations of Otho II. were generally adopted throughout Christendom, to limit fighting by proxy in criminal cases;§ but in civil actions the employment of champions was permitted to all,‖ and seems to have been almost universal, as long as the wager of battle maintained its vitality as a judicial process in common use.

There were two classes of pleaders, however, with whom the hiring of champions was a necessity. While the woman whose rights were imperilled could appear by her husband or next of kin, the ecclesiastical foundations and chartered towns had no such resource. Their frequent occasion for this species of service, therefore, led to the employment of regularly appointed champions, who fought their battles for an annual stipend, or some other advantages bestowed in payment. Ducange, for instance, gives us the text of an agreement by which one Geoffry Blondel, in 1256, bound himself to the town of Beauvais, as its champion, for a yearly salary of twenty sous Parisis, with extra gratifications of ten livres Tournois for every time he appeared in arms in their cause, fifty livres if blows were exchanged, and a hundred livres if the conflict were carried to a successful issue. This scale of prices, and Beaumanoir's argument, quoted above, in favor of mutilating a defeated champion, offer a strong practical commentary on the fundamental principle upon which the

* "Vix enim aut nunquam duo pugiles inveniri poterunt sic æquales," &c. — Constit. Sicular. Lib. II. Tit. XXXIII.

† "Nullus eorum duellum faciat contra aliquem qui testificatus sit pugil conductitius per sacramentum decem legalium civium." — Concil. Eccles. Rotomag. p. 128. (Ducange.)

‡ De Legibus Angliæ, Lib. II. Cap. III.

§ For instance, Assises de Jerusalem, Cap. 145, 146. — Beaumanoir, Cout. du Beauvoisis, Chap. LXI. § 6; Chap. LXIII. § 4.

‖ Beaumanoir, op. cit. Chap. LXI. § 14.

whole system of appealing to the judgment of God was based, — that success was an evidence of right.

The champions of the Church occupied a higher position, and were bound to defend the interests of their clients in the open field, as well as in the court and in the lists. Under the titles of *Vidames*, *Avoués*, or advocates, they held their place among the barons and gentlemen of the realm, and many a noble family traced its rise to the increase of ancestral property obtained, directly or indirectly, by thus espousing the cause of fat abbeys and wealthy monasteries. One of the worst abuses in the modern ecclesiastical system of England is derived from this source, and the fantastic crudities of the Middle Ages are perpetuated, etymologically and practically, in the advowson which renders the cure of souls too often a matter of bargain and sale.

If by these dry archæological details we have succeeded in illustrating the slow but irresistible progress of the human mind towards the right; if, in the limited field selected, we have seen, amid the maze of force and fraud, how every apparent retrogression has been in reality a step in advance, and how, under the guidance of an all-wise and inscrutable Providence, the mists of error have gradually been dissipated, and the cause of truth, of justice, and of humanity has triumphed over the accumulated superstitions and prejudices of ages, — the lesson will not have been in vain. We shall have been taught to look with patience on the evil which is still around us, and to anticipate with confidence the yet brighter future, when perhaps the social problems which still perplex the wisest will have been solved, and anomalies which now scarce attract our attention will be regarded with incredulous wonder, such as moves us when we investigate the eccentricities of the battle ordeal and of canonical compurgation.

ART. II. — *Honor to the Illustrious Dead. A Lecture in Behalf of the Mount Vernon Association, delivered in the State Capitol, Nashville, Wednesday, December* 4, 1857. By RICHARD OWEN, M. D., Professor in the University of Nashville. Nashville. 1858.

GRATITUDE has been defined, by some cynical wit, to be "a lively sense of future favors." Poor human nature! if this be true. But, like a great many other smart and seemingly profound sayings, it proves only that the wit had kept very bad company, and not that human nature is devoid of one of the sweetest and noblest of all impulses, — the overflow of a warm heart under a sense of benefits already conferred and enjoyed. That there is danger of past favors being forgotten, we dare not deny, so keen is our pursuit of future good, and so absorbing are the interests of the present. But if there were no other proof that the heart is capable of a gratitude more true and generous than worldlings believe in, — a gratitude which reaches the point of enthusiasm, — the present awakening of public feeling towards the memory of Washington would suffice to encourage the friends of our race. It is pure and high enough to challenge the respect and sympathy of the angels. We may point to it as a mark of Heaven's favor, — a sign that Providence has not deserted us in punishment of our national sins, — a timely revival of the religion of noble thoughts, — a blessed touch on that electric cord of sympathy which ought oftener to thrill a country possessing such an origin and such a common experience as ours. Let us hail it as an auspicious omen, — as the inauguration of a new telegraph of the heart, deep laid and love fraught like that other new bond of humanity, which, if not now, must ere long awaken the pulses of the continents; and, seeing these things, let us bless God and take courage.

The labor of love lately commenced with such zeal and energy by the women of the United States — a memorial of Washington such as will become more splendid as well as more precious as the ages flow on — may be cause or effect of the sudden outburst of a feeling deep seated in the Ameri-

can heart. Let it be one or the other, it is good and great. That it has been undertaken by women, and is to be managed by them, is a guaranty that no alloy of political self-seeking or private cupidity will defile it, no cold, calculating policy stint its execution, and, we may add, no cooling of enthusiasm, and even no conceivable obstacle, be suffered to hinder its completion. The sex's impulsiveness, and even its general unacquaintance with the details of business, will not prove misfortunes in an undertaking like this. It is sometimes a very sorry thing to be far-seeing and too careful of trifles. In affairs of the heart, a little romance goes further, and accomplishes more, than a great deal of calculation. Love is, even when blind, stronger than Fear, who sees too much. It is a good thing, sometimes, not to know when we are beaten, and this is peculiarly a feminine trait, where the affections are concerned.

"Even though vanquished, *she* can argue still."

We augur all the better of the Washington memorial because it is undertaken by the so-called weaker sex, proverbially strong when it has made up its mind;

"For when she will she will, you may depend on 't,
And when she won't she won't, and there 's an end on 't.

She *will*, in this case. All honor to the warm Southern heart in which the thought was born. Let us of the colder North see to it that no zeal in following be wanting.

But even now we may speak of the enterprise as already a success. When were ever such sums collected, by voluntary gift, in so short a time? Ladies sitting at home have many hundreds poured into their laps in a day. A school-boy, in his play hours, gathers, in less than three weeks, nearly a thousand dollars. To ask and have is all that is necessary.

"Thought meets thought, ere from the lips it part."

Money seems the least part of the affair, in this case; feeling carries all before it.

When in 1789 the Father of his Country passed through Trenton on his way to New York to take the oaths as President, the public enthusiasm was unbounded, and processions and salvoes attended his progress; but that which formed the

crown and glory of the demonstration was a band of young girls, with a majestic and beautiful background of mothers, who met him at the entrance of the bridge, sang their simple song of welcome, and scattered flowers before him, hailing him as deliverer and benefactor. It is said, — and indeed Washington said, — that he found himself completely overcome by this tender greeting. His habitual self-command forsook him, his heart overflowed at the eyes, and he could find no words with which to make fit reply or acknowledgment.

Another feminine tribute is in preparation, and we can fancy him recognizing and feeling it. It is as if the daughters and granddaughters and far posterity of those grateful mothers were forming themselves into a great and beautiful band, with new songs and garlands, and bringing their children to claim kindred with the glorious women of the elder day, — women without whose courage and self-sacrifice there would be little room for exultation now.

The imagination loves to contemplate this fair procession, collecting from the South, the West, the East, the North, — to follow these pure songs and this grateful fragrance, ascending to the skies; and can hardly be restrained from believing that he to whom is dedicated this homage of the heart may be permitted to recognize and enjoy such proofs that his toils and sacrifices, his virtues and services, are held in sweet and sacred memory. And why not? Enjoyment of the fruits of goodness is surely not unheavenly.

As to the contemplated memorial, we would say a few words.

Sir Christopher Wren's monument in St. Paul's bears perhaps the happiest inscription ever devised: "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" The man on whose tomb these words would be out of place should lie down quietly beneath the green mound which mother Nature provides for all her children, and at most desire only the simple tablet consecrated by private affection, which may serve for a few years to protect his ashes from disturbance. "Their works shall praise them," says that great Book which contains the seeds and the fruit of all human experience and observation. And if, after such praise, the little column, reaching a few hundred

feet towards the clouds, spring up, it becomes, and is felt by all to be, a sort of toy, — a something to be gazed on by the crowd on holidays, or, at best, admired by the cultivated eye for its symmetry and beauty. Its connection with the reverence it is meant to symbolize is remote, cold, shadowy. In our day it is primarily a mark for criticism. The leading idea is set aside, and those best qualified to appreciate the motive are, by some fatality of what is called civilization, the first to pour contempt upon the performance, imperfect of course, and appealing rather to feeling than to intellect. The crowd, unskilled to justify its admiration, is quick to catch the trick of despising, and the end is desecration and neglect.

In ages less falsely proud and less sophisticated there was no difficulty about monuments. It is as natural for the human heart to commemorate, as to love and admire. Only the savage is willing to forget. Time's ceaseless flow, unchecked, carries with it the precious and the worthless, almost alike, and for grateful Memory to set up at least stones in the brook is wise and gracious. Something by way of record there must and will be; the only question is, — What?

If most men do too little to deserve monuments, and are made only ridiculous by great, swelling words of vanity inscribed above their unhonored graves, there are others whose tombs are left long unbuilt, from a universal feeling that every effort to commemorate, in marble or imperishable bronze, the world's sense of their merit, will necessarily prove insignificant and vain.

If anything has been established by half a century of abortive attempts, it is that a Washington monument which shall satisfy the nation is impossible in the United States. All the graceful columns, the elaborate piles, the hideous jumbles, that have borne that name, to the contrary notwithstanding, the American people — the millions that call Washington *Pater Patriæ* — can never express their idea of his worth by anything that human hands can build, though the pile should reach higher than Nimrod's impious dream, or the tallest mountain within our wide bounds be hewn into a portrait-statue. Size, as an expression of reverence, is barbarous; expense natural, but cockneyish. The moment ideas of size

and expense take the lead in the conception of a reverential structure, the result assumes at once the dignity and satisfactoriness of a stone-cutter's bill. The bigger the pile, the more it reminds one of the Frog and the Ox. Strain our resources as we will, the feeling may be genuine, but the result is only an immeasurable stone-cutter's bill at last. The great pyramid is, as a monument, simply ridiculous; we respect Cheops, or whomsoever else it may once have enshrined, all the less for having been the cause of so silly a tomb. The sentiment of reverence refuses to connect itself in any way with mere heaps. We cannot think of the pile and the hero at the same time. If a true conception of greatness fill the soul, a huge tumulus is to us as a child's garden, over which we tread unconsciously in gazing at a great, glorious landscape, flooded with dazzling sunlight.

Our memorial must, then, be something exquisite, — expressive rather of thought, feeling, and skill, than of labor; more suggestive than ambitious; appealing not to criticism, but to love; belonging at once to past, present, and future; meeting universal tastes, whether uncultivated or refined; enduring in its nature, yet susceptible of continual growth in elegance as Time shall unfold new resources; associated so intimately with the idea on which it is founded, and dissociated so completely from the vanity of any individual, that it is in no danger from the encroachments of vulgar egotism. Such are some of the requisites. Materials for such a monument to Washington — for a memorial more nearly worthy of what we feel than any which has yet been attempted — are now presented in Mount Vernon, the beloved dwelling and chosen resting-place of our country's great type and pattern, the American man, whose passion was domestic improvement and the cultivation of the earth, although his solemn and reluctant business was war.

The idea is unique, — unparalleled in the New World and even in the Old. Splendid estates have, especially in England, been bestowed upon successful warriors, and these continue long to receive the visits of the curious; for whether the multitude care for Marlborough or not, rural beauty is always attractive. But in all these cases the associative link

between the sylvan paradise thus dedicated and the soldier to whose success or popularity it testifies, is comparatively feeble. Little of the man is there. The power that bestowed, or the taste and magnificence that willed the gift, is the prominent thought. Wellington's narrow camp-bed and scanty writing-apparatus speak more touchingly of him than all the splendors of Strathfieldsaye. The venerable oaks of Woodstock bring up the shade of the Great Magician of the North more forcibly, as well as more sweetly, than the hero of Ramillies and Malplaquet, in spite of the huge vulgarity of gilded cannon-balls that arrests the eye on the roofs of Blenheim. Luxurious beauty there is, and massive dignity too, and many a reminiscence of the past. What is wanting is *personality*. There is an extraneous rather than a personal interest about this magnificent domain, decreed by a grateful nation for a hero's rest after the toils of war. It seems never to have been fully his own; his mind, character, and feelings in no degree permeate palaces and gardens bought and bestowed after he was a finished man. His memory is a secondary thing among these heaped splendors, now in possession of descendants who are grand nobodies, prone to scowl at visitors who recognize only the departed greatness.

Thus, although the idea of a rural dwelling and rural beauties on a magnificent scale as a national monument has the sanction of time and great example, the patriotic enterprise of our ladies possesses advantages of a peculiar kind. Every acre of Mount Vernon, as well as every apartment of the stately old house there, is filled with the spirit of him to whose beloved memory it is to be consecrated. His mind and heart still live there, and all the hill and tree and river spirits know his name. The sepulchre, planned by himself with his characteristic simplicity and modesty, now dilapidated and forlorn, yet full of dignity to the reverent eye, does not speak of him more intimately than do the groves and lawns he planted, and the plain house he loved. On no other spot of earth did he look with such pleasure; over no other landscape did his eye ever wander with such insatiate delight. For more than half a century it was his beloved home, enjoyed whenever duty permitted, improved and adorned with

untiring interest during every interval of rest; longed for unceasingly through those weary, anxious, glorious years, whose toils and sacrifices allowed scarce a private joy, and greeted with heart and soul when, flushed with success and crowned with a whole world's honor, he was at last permitted to seek its shelter and shade, for eyes almost blinded by the excess of light in which he had been forced to live. Every tree had its history for him, and is to us consecrated by his planting or his culture. The earliest pleasure of his home-day was a walk or a ride over those beloved acres; the last at night, a long, reflective pacing of the flagged porch from which he could see the moonlight on the river. He carried the image of Mount Vernon with him wherever he went, and found time to plan its regulation and order its culture during the busiest periods of the war and of the Presidency.

It may be only a fanciful surmise, but it seems something more, that the predominating love of rural scenery, occupations, and pleasures was closely connected with the purity, the deliberate nobleness, and the magnanimous self-control of Washington's life. If, like too many who feel within themselves the stirring elements of great attempts, — not always the true prophets of great deeds, — he had fretted under the quiet and humility of country employments, all that he did at Mount Vernon would have been a mere *entr'acte*, from which no conclusion could be drawn as to his character, and which the imagination would vainly seek to ally in any significant manner with the peculiar aspects of his public life. But to prize country life; to find an ever new delight in the cultivation of the soil; to view mother Earth with a truly filial reverence and affection; to watch the sailing clouds with a lover's tireless gaze; to be able, after the highest public employments crowned with the most splendid success, to say with heartfelt sincerity, "Agriculture is the most healthful, the most useful, and the most noble employment of man"; — this bespeaks a peculiar calmness, a power acquired over self, — for Washington's was a fiery, glowing temperament, — the most philosophical conception of life's true uses, the wisest reference to that still, searching, future time, when a court of inquiry must be held in the private soul, and a review must be taken

of what has been done, and what has been left undone, in the most glorious human career, — a review anticipative of that great audit when the final sentence is to be rendered.

There was a sentiment about Mount Vernon from the beginning. Lawrence Washington, when he purchased the estate, chose to name it after Admiral Vernon, under whom he had served at Carthagena, — a significant fancy, corresponding well with a certain vein which one discovers early in the study of Washington's turn of mind, as displayed in letters and journals written long before he became famous. The Washingtons were, in those dim, distant days, people of thought, feeling, and a high sense of honor. It was not to no purpose that Mrs. Washington, while her gallant sons yet stood boys at her knee, imbued them with the calm and noble sentiments of Sir Matthew Hale. Their entrance into active life was guarded on all sides by worthy and patriotic thoughts, planted by that wise mother as sentinels against all insidious approaches of evil. Mount Vernon became to Lawrence the memorial of a gallant sailor who had been a hero to him, both by public conduct and private kindness; and George, then a boy, and a frequent inmate of his brother's family, had thus a domestic example, both kindly and dignified, in his elder brother's respect and love for his old commander. When he afterwards, as a direct consequence of his affectionate care, excellent judgment, and already matured integrity, before he was of age, received this very Mount Vernon as a legacy from his brother, who died early, he thought not of changing the name first bestowed by peculiar and individual feeling, but set himself about adorning the place, adding to its area by gradual purchases, and bringing up the whole towards his own ideal of what a rural property ought to be. From that day to the day of his death his choicest pleasure was the care of those acres, — thirteen hundred in number ultimately, — of which the more personal and interesting two hundred, including those on which stand the mansion and offices, and those made priceless by the presence of sacred dust never to be disturbed, are to become the property of the nation represented by the many, many thousands who are pressing forward to cast their grateful offerings into the treasury of the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association.

It is a noble enterprise; may it be worthily carried out! Anxiously and carefully it will be, there can be no shadow of doubt. Counsel will be sought, precedents collated, examples gathered, wherever taste has presided and science operated amid trees and lawns, shrubbery and flowers. Louis Napoleon's grand designs, Paxton's magical achievements, Downing's visions of American possibilities in rural effects, the latest discoveries in horticulture, the highest authorities in garden architecture, — all will be studied, and made to contribute to the result. The climate is most genial, allowing full scope to art and nature. Plants of northern and southern habits thrive almost equally well there, and winter affords almost as many beauties as summer. All must be brought to bear. The plan should be magnificent as the thought was happy; the reverence which inspires should guide the taste which executes. No professional pertinacity should avail to introduce vulgarities, however sanctioned by tradition or the popular fancy; and in architecture no unwise ambition should be allowed to project wonders which are sure to be deformities to a large portion of the beholders. If the one grand, leading idea govern, as it should, every part of the design, nature, simplicity, and a truly rural grace will prevail throughout, and every "alley green" and "pleached bower" will be such as Washington himself would have delighted in, whether at "rising morn," his favorite hour, "sweet with song of earliest birds," or walking with God in the garden in the cool of the day.

It has been suggested, and, as it seems to us, with some propriety, that from a circle including the house, with its fine semicircular sweep of colonnades and offices, designed by Washington himself, *all change should be excluded*, and the sole effort be to preserve everything in the highest order, and to prevent all symptoms of decay or dilapidation by judicious repairs; while, outside of this charmed and sacred boundary, every resource of modern art should be taxed to produce such a *pleasaunce* for quiet crowds, as only the imagination has yet pictured. If some limit to change be not irrevocably prescribed, all that is truly characteristic of Washington will soon disappear, and Mount Vernon degenerate into an ordinary show-place, — which Heaven avert!

Another suggestion — simply hideous, but on that account the more alarming, because numbers will surely approve it — is to "beautify" Mount Vernon with the monuments of "great" men, that is, to turn it into a larger Congressional burying-ground, where the member from Buncombe, who has been able to accumulate a "pile" in California, may have it all converted into marble, and placed above his relics, or the last successful demagogue, killed in a brawl, may be sure of a pyramid at least, contributed by kindred spirits.

We would have the whole one grand monument, — majestic, beautiful, living; we would not divide his sacredness by the introduction even of the name we love best. If we tolerated any accessory interest, — as particular sites must undoubtedly be distinguished by appropriate designations, — we would give to some beauteous eminence, that should command a view of the whole, the name of the lady who originated the plan of the memorial; and find, in some spot made beautiful alike by sun and shade, by art and nature, room for an Everett Fountain. Further than this, we could not be persuaded to go.

ART. III. — 1. *History of the Life and Times of* EDMUND BURKE. By THOMAS MACKNIGHT, Author of "The Right Hon. B. D'Israeli, M. P., a Literary and Political Biography"; and "Thirty Years of Foreign Policy: a History of the Secretaryships of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston." Vols. I. and II. London: Chapman and Hall. 1858. 8vo. pp. xxxi. and 527, 556.

2. *The Works and Correspondence of the Right Honorable* EDMUND BURKE. A New Edition. London: Francis and John Rivington. 1852. 8 vols. 8vo.

WE welcome a new Life of Edmund Burke with much satisfaction. When Dr. Bisset wrote, the materials for a thorough and comprehensive survey of the subject were far less abundant and valuable than those which we now possess; and although his work is an authority upon some points, and is not without

literary merit, it is almost forgotten. Of the more recent biographers of Burke, both Croly and Prior were Tories, having little sympathy with the principles which he advocated during the earlier part of his career, and reserving their heartiest praise for his denunciations of the French Revolution. Neither produced a work which satisfies the requirements of the subject. Dr. Croly's Life was written to subserve a temporary purpose, and it is little more than an overgrown political pamphlet. Its style is vivacious and brilliant; but the narrow views and partisan aims of the writer would repel many readers, even if his work professed to exhibit a complete view of its hero, instead of being restricted to a single phase of his character. Mr. Prior's Life is a work of greater pretension, and has long held an established place in biographical literature. Nor do we suppose that it will be soon superseded. The author was intimately acquainted with Burke's various productions; he had a just appreciation of his unrivalled genius; and he had access to numerous unpublished letters. His picture of Burke's private life is minute in its details, and upon the whole satisfactory. But when the biographer passes from the domestic circle and the friendly group into the arena of party warfare, he signally fails to do justice to his theme, and we are often compelled to take issue with him upon his recorded opinions of men and measures. His style is singularly hard and inflexible, and is sometimes marked by even graver faults.

Mr. Macknight's History is not yet complete, and his narrative is brought down only to the resignation of the Rockingham Whigs, in the summer of 1782. But enough has been published to enable us to speak of it in general terms as a work of solid and enduring excellence. Mr. Macknight has thoroughly mastered his subject; he has brought to it a large acquaintance with political history; and he has studied it by the light of those invaluable family documents which have been given to the public in such profusion within the last fifteen or twenty years. His plan is broad and well defined, and includes both the public and the private life of Burke. His researches, it is true, have not been rewarded by the discovery of much new material; but he has made a judicious use of such facts as he has first brought to light, as well as of

all that are accessible in print. His language is generally clear and forcible, and sometimes rises into genuine eloquence. But it must also be conceded, that it is often diffuse, careless, and incorrect; and occasionally we meet with a bit of tawdry fustian, which would seem to indicate that the writer had not bestowed much care upon the revision of his work. This impression is strengthened by observing the number of typographical blunders in different parts of the volumes. Certainly no man in his senses would deliberately print such a sentence as the following in reference to the publication of the debates in Parliament. "The new House of Commons," Mr. Macknight remarks, "though perhaps both the most arbitrary and the most servile which had been chosen since the Revolution, was, by the exertions of Burke, destined to be the last that could hide its proceedings from the light of day; and the foul spectre which darkness had engendered, shrank away from that glorious Lucifer, son of the morning, the reporter in the gallery."* It is not often that we find worse specimens of rhetoric run mad; and a writer of Mr. Macknight's ability who descends to such platitudes and anti-climaxes deserves the severest criticism. The same want of taste is even more apparent in the headings of his chapters. "In the Forlorn Hope of Politicians," "Faithful among the Faithless," "Fulfilled Prophecies," "Through Keppel's Agony of Glory," "At the Hour of England's Necessity and of Ireland's Opportunity," "Storm and Victory," are among the many absurd captions which he has deliberately chosen. A strong partisan bias in favor of Burke, diffuseness, and a fondness for swollen sentences and mixed metaphors, are the author's besetting sins.

The edition of Burke's Works and Correspondence before us comprises all of his writings usually printed under this title, together with some letters and notes of speeches which had previously remained in manuscript. But it does not include the "Account of the European Settlements in America," the authorship of which is in doubt, nor any of his speeches which were not revised by himself.† It is, indeed, a striking circum-

* Vol. I. p. 291.

† The Account is reprinted in the beautiful edition of Burke's Works published

stance, as noted by Mr. Macknight, that "neither a complete edition of Burke's Correspondence, nor a complete edition of his Works, has yet been added to the literature of the country he adorned." We are firmly of the opinion, however, that his reputation has not suffered in the general judgment by the omission of the inadequate reports of his Parliamentary eloquence which alone remain in the Cavendish Debates and other contemporary records. Yet it is only by a careful examination of these reports, even in their imperfect and unsatisfactory state, that we can form a just estimate of Burke's powers, and of his real relations with his contemporaries. In the mean time, this edition of his Works is in several respects the best that has been published.

Although the ancestors of Edmund Burke had been settled in Ireland for many generations, they did not belong to the aboriginal race, but were derived from an Anglo-Norman stock. His father was a respectable attorney in Dublin, of small means and with a numerous family; and it was in this city that the statesman was born. The year of his birth is not known, and is differently given by different biographers. Mr. Prior, without recognizing the uncertainty which exists upon this point, says that he was born in 1730. The editors of Burke's Correspondence, with greater probability, fix upon the year 1728. Between these conflicting statements, Mr. Macknight is in doubt; but he seems inclined to adopt an intermediate date, and finally accepts 1729. Of these three dates, Mr. Prior's is certainly supported by the smallest weight of authority, and the suppositions by which it is sustained may be safely pronounced altogether untenable. On the other hand, the registry of Burke's admission to the College of Dublin, which bears date April 14, 1743, describes him as being then in his sixteenth year; and his epitaph in Beaconsfield Church, after giving the date of his death, July 9, 1797, adds that he was sixty-eight. But we are told by the editors

some years since by Messrs. Little and Brown, of this city. Mr. Prior entertains no doubt of its authenticity, and Mr. Macknight is equally clear that Burke was "the principal, if not sole, author." But Burke himself said that he only revised it; and it has not been included in any English edition of his works. For various reasons, we are inclined to accept Lord Macartney's assertion, that it was a joint production, to which Burke contributed.

of his Correspondence, it was subsequently the impression of his family that he was older than had been supposed. In a postscript to a letter to the Marquis of Rockingham dated January 12, 1775, he says, "My birthday, — I need not say how long ago." We may conclude, therefore, in the want of positive evidence, that he was born on the 12th of January, 1728. According to this view, he was twenty-one years older than Fox, thirty-one years older than Pitt, and nearly twenty-four years older than Sheridan.

Of his early life not much is known; and it is supposed that previously to his death he destroyed all the family letters in his possession which might throw light upon the subject. He is said to have been of a weak and delicate constitution, and to have spent a considerable part of his time at Castletown Roche, the residence of his mother's family, who were Catholics. In the spring of 1741 he was sent to a classical school at Ballytore, a little village about thirty miles from Dublin. Here he remained only two years; but he made considerable progress in his studies, and always retained a pleasant recollection of the school. The earliest of his published letters are addressed to the son of his old teacher, and this juvenile friendship was kept fresh through his whole life. In Parliament he bore honorable testimony to the virtues of his first schoolmaster. "He had been educated," he said in one of his speeches at the time of the No-Popery riots in 1780, "as a Protestant of the Church of England by a Dissenter who was an honor to his sect, though that sect was considered one of the purest. Under his eye he had read the Bible morning, noon, and night, and had ever since been the happier and better man for such reading." Early in 1743 he was entered of Trinity College, Dublin; and in 1748 he took his Bachelor's degree. But he does not appear to have distinguished himself at college. His reading had been desultory; he had a taste for versifying; and, with his impulsive nature, he was not likely to apply himself very closely to branches of learning in which he was not specially interested. Yet he enlarged and strengthened his mind by extensive reading in natural philosophy, logic, mathematics, history, and poetry, the last of which was his favorite study. He also took part in

a Debating Society, of which many of his college friends were members; and in 1747 he received a vote of thanks for declaiming in character Moloch's address to the fallen angels.

In 1747 he was admitted at the Middle Temple; and early in 1750 he went to London. For the law he had little inclination; and he kept his terms with great irregularity. Literature beguiled him from less agreeable professional studies, and ill-health was a sufficient plea for withdrawing for a time from the dust and turmoil of the great city. During his vacations he made several excursions to different parts of England, in company with his kinsman, William Burke; and in one of his letters to Shackleton he has given an amusing account of the curiosity excited in the country people by his studious and retired habits. The same unsatisfied curiosity has descended to our own time; and his biographers are as much in doubt respecting his way of life during his first years in England as was his landlady at Turlaine. "I believe that you be gentlemen," she said to Burke and his companion, "but I ask no questions." Indeed, it is not until he entered Parliament, in 1766, that we have much satisfactory information about his personal history. It seems probable that he derived a small income from his literary labors, and that he received some remittances from his father. But there are no existing traces of his having published anything previous to the appearance of the "Vindication of Natural Society." Manuscripts of an earlier date, however, were found among his papers, and are printed with his Works.

About this time he entertained a design of coming to this country; and it has been stated that he was offered a considerable employment in New York. The design was relinquished in consequence of his father's opposition; and in a letter printed by Mr. Prior he very dutifully says: "I have nothing nearer my heart than to make you easy; and I have no scheme or design, however reasonable it may seem to me, that I would not gladly sacrifice to your quiet, and submit to your judgment." Still he was not called to the bar, and he does not appear to have bestowed much further thought or time upon the study of the law. He had not been idle; and two years after the publication of Bolingbroke's posthumous

works, he gave to the world a little pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of Natural Society: or a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to Mankind from every Species of Civil Society, in a Letter to Lord * * * *, by a late Noble Writer." In this keen and pleasant satire he imitated the polished style of Lord Bolingbroke with so much success, that Chesterfield and Warburton at first believed it to be an authentic work. Its whole tone and spirit were skilfully copied from Bolingbroke's writings, and it shows at once Burke's power of mimicry and the extent and variety of his reading. Ancient and modern history are alike brought into the service of his argument, and, by an artful choice and arrangement of his materials, he easily makes the worse appear the better reason. Some writers, indeed, have supposed that in this essay Burke was arguing from his own convictions. But few persons will accept this view, who carefully consider the nature of the argument, or who are familiar with the character of Burke's mind. In truth, it can be regarded only as an evidence of the strength of his powers, and of the readiness with which he could find plausible arguments in defence of the most absurd opinions.

Encouraged by the success of this work, he published, a few months afterwards, a more elaborate production, which he had written many years before, but which had hitherto rested quietly in his desk. The "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful" had even more success than his former work, and a second edition was published in the following year, to which he prefixed a brief introductory paper on Taste, and made large additions. But the theory propounded in this Inquiry was very narrow and fallacious, and has often been ridiculed with great severity by subsequent writers on the subject. Indeed, Lord Jeffrey does not hesitate to say, in his discourse upon Beauty: "Of all the suppositions that have been at any time hazarded to explain the phenomena of beauty, this, we think, is the most unfortunately imagined, and the most weakly supported. There is no philosophy in the doctrine, and the fundamental assumption is in every way contradicted by the most familiar experience." Burke was often importuned, in later years, to

reprint this treatise, but he always declined, though it does not appear that he ever doubted the correctness of his theory. Considered merely as the production of a young man at college, the essay is full of promise, and much of it may still be read with interest and profit, for the just observations and striking descriptions which it contains.

Not long after the publication of these two works, Burke married. Unsuccessful attempts have been made in London, Bristol, and Bath to ascertain the time and place of his marriage. But it is believed to have been in the early part of 1757; and, as Mrs. Burke was a Catholic, it is probable that the marriage ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish Church. The early part of his married life Burke spent in the family of his father-in-law, Dr. Nugent, a distinguished physician in London. In February, 1758, his first son, Richard Burke, was born. In the following December he again became a father, but the child died in infancy. The elder son, in whom all the father's hopes were centred, died in 1794, three years before his own death. "I live in an inverted order," he says, in reference to this great sorrow, in the "Letter to a Noble Lord." "They who ought to have succeeded me have gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors. I owe to the dearest relation (which ever must subsist in memory) that act of piety which he would have performed to me; I owe it to him to show that he was not descended, as the Duke of Bedford would have it, from an unworthy parent." Mrs. Burke survived her husband nearly fifteen years; and during his whole married life he seems to have found in her a congenial and helpful companion. She is described as a person of great sweetness of temper, accomplished, energetic, and devoted. Such we know was Burke's own opinion of her; for he has drawn her character in a well-remembered and beautiful sketch of a perfect wife, which he gave her upon the anniversary of their marriage.

In the same year in which he was married the "Account of the European Settlements in America" was first published. We have already expressed the opinion that Burke was not the sole author of this compilation. But we have little doubt

that he was concerned in its preparation; and this opinion, which is based partly upon internal evidence and partly upon contemporary testimony, is confirmed by the fact that the original assignment of the copyright for fifty guineas is in Burke's handwriting. The work claims to be little more than a compilation, but it is clearly and graphically written, and the curious reader will not fail to notice some judicious remarks upon colonial relations, and other subjects then agitating the public mind in England. The writers had collected much new and curious information both from public and private sources, and the work met an existing want, which insured the success of the publication. Some of its statements are still quoted as authoritative, particularly those relating to the British colonies; but other portions have been superseded by Dr. Robertson's History of America and the still more admirable labors of our own countrymen.

A few months later Burke gave to the world the "Essay towards an Abridgment of the English History." In this work he evidently designed to exhibit the gradual progress of the nation in its laws, manners, and social habits, rather than to present a full and rapid narrative of events. Accustomed to deal with large generalizations rather than with minute details, he made his essay a dissertation upon English history, and not a history in the common acceptation of the word. Unfortunately, he did not complete his design, and the work closes abruptly with the granting of Magna Charta. But it bears the marks of his resplendent powers, and as an historical fragment it possesses a value entirely independent of the fame of the writer. To the interest which he took in this study of the early annals of England we probably owe the first suggestion of another historical work, which he commenced in the same year, under the title of "The Annual Register." For this work he wrote the historical chapters for many years, and also contributed some other papers, for an annual salary of one hundred pounds. His history of current events, which was the most important feature in the work, is often quoted, and is justly admired; but it is a curious circumstance, that no part of it has ever been reprinted in his Works.

He had hitherto taken little share in the discussion of political questions, and was unconnected with any party. His tastes were for the most part literary, and the impression which he appears to have produced was that of a person who was more familiar with books than with men. "I dined with your secretary yesterday," said Horace Walpole, in a letter written in July, 1761; "there were Garrick and a young Mr. Burke, who wrote a book in the style of Lord Bolingbroke, that was much admired. He is a sensible man, but has not worn off his authorism yet, and thinks there is nothing so charming as writers, and to be one. He will know better one of these days." Yet, two years before he was thus described by this keen observer, he had evinced a disposition to enter public life, and in the Chatham Papers is a letter recommending him as a suitable person for a vacant consulship at Madrid. For some reason he failed to receive the appointment, and in the same year he formed a connection with William Gerard Hamilton, the exact nature of which has never been understood, though it is probable that Burke was to perform for Hamilton the same friendly service which Frederick the Great had recently exacted of Voltaire. Hamilton had entered Parliament some years before, and had almost immediately risen to distinction upon the extraordinary success of his first speech in the House of Commons. He had already held office, and was in the fair way of advancement, when Burke was introduced to him by Lord Charlemont, a friend of both, and a countryman of Burke. Two years afterward Hamilton's patron, Lord Halifax, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Hamilton was appointed Chief Secretary. Burke accompanied his new friend to Ireland, and appears to have been an active and efficient laborer in Hamilton's service. When the change of ministry took place in England in 1762, upon the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, the Lord Lieutenant, his Secretary, and Burke, whose position cannot easily be described, recrossed the Channel to look after their own interests. They were so far successful in the object of their visit that Hamilton was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, the new Lord Lieutenant, and again returned to Ireland with Burke.

At first Burke had no ostensible office or salary, but in 1763 he received a pension of three hundred pounds per annum, chargeable upon the Irish treasury. This pension he afterwards assigned to Hamilton's attorney at the time of their rupture, although he distinctly asserts that he was less indebted for it to that gentleman than to either of the other three persons concerned in procuring it. Of Burke's history at this period, as we have remarked, very little is known, but whatever may have been the nature of his relations with Hamilton, the connection was productive of little satisfaction. At length, in the early part of 1765, they came to an open and violent rupture. Burke's version of the origin of the quarrel is, that Hamilton demanded of him services which would have deprived him of all moral and intellectual freedom, and have effectually closed all the avenues to advancement.

"The occasion of our difference," he says in a letter to Henry Flood, "was not any act whatsoever on my part; it was entirely upon his; by a voluntary, but most insolent and intolerable demand, amounting to no less than a claim of servitude during the whole course of my life, without leaving to me, at any time, a power of either getting forward with honor, or of retiring with tranquillity. This was really and truly the substance of his demand upon me, to which I need not tell you that I refused, with some degree of indignation, to submit."

Both parties were excessively angry. Hamilton refused to see Burke, alleging that he should not be able to control his temper, on account of his lively sense of the unkindness of the former "companion of his studies," and his friends circulated reports highly injurious to Burke. On the other hand, Burke, in his letters to his friends, aired his vocabulary with great freedom, and showed that he was a perfect master of the art of vituperation.

"I shall never," he says in one letter, "look upon those who, after hearing the whole story, do not think me *perfectly* right, and do not consider Hamilton as an infamous scoundrel, to be in the smallest degree my friends, or even to be persons for whom I am bound to have the slightest esteem, as fair or just estimators of the characters and conduct of men."

The breach was never healed, though both parties lived for more than thirty years after its occurrence.

Shortly after this rupture Burke formed a new connection, which became a source of permanent satisfaction to him, and influenced the whole course of his subsequent life. His friends naturally shared his indignation against Hamilton, and sought to procure for him a position in which his powers might have free exercise. Hamilton himself asserted that Burke had left him for the purpose of joining another patron, probably one of the Townshends; but the charge is emphatically denied by Burke, in a letter to a friend in Ireland. It is certain, however, that his friends made interest for him with the Marquis of Rockingham, to whom he was introduced by Mr. William Fitzherbert, a leading member in the party of that nobleman. The result of their recommendations was his appointment as private secretary to Lord Rockingham, in July, 1765, when the Rockingham Whigs came into office. Lord Rockingham himself, as head of the party, became prime minister. He was a nobleman of pure and disinterested patriotism, free from all personal aims, and of sound judgment upon most subjects; but he was feeble in body, disinclined to public speaking, and not of superior talents. No position, therefore, could at that time have been better suited to call out the strength of Burke's great powers as a writer. From the first his pen was enlisted in defence of the opinions and policy of the party; and when he entered Parliament, in the following December, as member for the borough of Wendover, he at once took a prominent rank as a speaker. Neither Mr. Dowdeswell nor Sir George Savile, the most distinguished members of the party in the Lower House, could aspire to equal oratorical power with him, and gradually Burke became the principal advocate of the views of the party in Parliament, thus uniting in his own person the dissimilar functions of writer and speaker.

His first speech was delivered in January, 1766, upon the question of receiving a petition of the Colonial Congress setting forth the grievances under which America was laboring. No report of this speech has been preserved; but it is known that Burke advocated the reception of the petition, upon the ground that it implied the plenary right of Parliament to govern America, and that Pitt publicly complimented

him upon the ability which he had displayed. In regard to the general question at issue between the Colonies and the parent country, it is clear that his views subsequently underwent a considerable modification. At this time he had "no doubt of the ability of Great Britain to crush, or even extirpate, the Colonies," nor had he any doubt as to the right of Parliament to tax America. In connection with Charles Yorke he advocated the introduction of the Declaratory Act, in opposition to the views of some of the other leaders of the party; and he assigned to its passage a prominent place among the services rendered by Lord Rockingham's administration. That ministry did not last long, — being dismissed in July, 1766, upon the formation of Lord Chatham's famous coalition ministry; but during its continuance Burke was one of the most active and zealous supporters of the measures of his party. His connection with Lord Rockingham did not terminate with the dismissal of the ministers; and he continued to hold the most intimate and confidential relations with him. Almost immediately after the change of ministers, he published an ingenious pamphlet under the title of "A Short Account of a late Short Administration," in which, in the apparently impartial character of a mere observer, he enumerates the measures adopted by the late ministry. This simple plan is managed with so much skill as to leave an impression upon the reader's mind that these measures had all been of signal importance and value, and that the dismissal of the ministers was a great loss to the country.

From this time Burke's career becomes identified with the political history of England; for though he never rose to high office, he took a conspicuous part in nearly every debate, and often enriched English literature by elaborate pamphlets discussing the questions of the day in the light of great principles. It is in his writings and speeches that we must look for the most masterly vindications of the principles of his party.

After the retirement of his political friends and the accession to office of Lord Chatham's new and unexampled combination, he made a short visit to Ireland. Here he spent three months in social enjoyments, reviving old friendships and making new acquaintance.

"They had," said Burke's mother, writing from Loughrea to one of her friends, "all the gentlemen and ladies of this town and neighborhood to visit them, and had as many invitations to dinner, had they accepted of them, as would take up a great many days. . . . . My dear Nelly, I believe you will think me very vain; but as you are a mother, I hope you will excuse it. I assure you that it 's no honor that is done him that makes me vain of him, but the goodness of his heart, which I believe no man living has a better; and sure there can't be a better son, nor can there be a better daughter-in-law than his wife."

One effect of this visit to Ireland was exhibited in the ability and success with which, in the next session of Parliament, he opposed a bill excluding Irish wool from some of the English markets. For his exertions upon this occasion and at other times in behalf of his native island, he was honored with the freedom of the city of Dublin, in January, 1767.

At the general election in the spring of 1768, he was again returned to Parliament for the borough of Wendover, by the same interest which had secured his former election. Having thus embarked once more on a public career, he determined "to cast a little root in the country." He accordingly "purchased a house, with an estate of about six hundred acres of land, in Buckinghamshire, twenty-four miles from London." Scarcely a trace now remains of this magnificent estate. But the house, which was destroyed by fire many years since, is described as having been a princely abode, with noble colonnades and graceful porticos, reminding the spectator of Buckingham Palace. It had formerly been the residence of the poet Waller, was enriched with paintings and sculpture, and was surrounded by excellent land, on which the new owner was fond of trying agricultural experiments. No place, indeed, on the score of beauty and of vicinity to London, could have been better adapted for the residence of a philosophical statesman of ample property and cultivated tastes. But Burke was not a man of fortune, and how he could have obtained the means of making so extensive a purchase is a question which has been often and sometimes acrimoniously discussed. It is well known that a portion of this sum was obtained from Lord Rockingham upon a bond, which was never paid, and which was probably among the

bonds cancelled by a codicil to that nobleman's will.* Another portion, it is said, was obtained by a mortgage, and the remainder Mr. Macknight thinks was borrowed of William and Richard Burke, who had been successful speculators in India stock. Burke himself says, in a letter to a Prussian gentleman, written in 1772: "I have never had any concern in the East India Company, nor have taken any part whatsoever in its affairs, except when they came before me in the course of Parliamentary proceedings." Yet there is very good reason for discrediting this statement, if it is to be understood in what seems to be its most obvious meaning; and it has been conjectured upon apparently sufficient grounds, that a portion of the purchase-money was the result of his own successful speculations. The whole matter, however, is involved in a hopeless obscurity, which neither Burke's friends nor his enemies have been able to dispel. It must still be regarded in the light of a curious and not unimportant inquiry.

Though Burke had thus become a landholder and an amateur farmer, politics continued to be his favorite pursuit. Upon the opening of the new Parliament, he at once entered with his accustomed warmth into the discussions upon the affairs of Corsica, the American questions, the case of John Wilkes, and other topics then violently agitating the country. Most of his speeches on these subjects are now lost; but some notes are preserved in the Cavendish Debates and the Parliamentary History, and allusions to them are occasionally to be found in other contemporary records. At a little later period, he again came before the public as a political pamphleteer. During the Parliamentary recess George Grenville had drawn up a party manifesto, under the title of "The Present State of the Nation," sharply attacking the policy of Lord Rockingham and his followers, and exhibiting the immense superiority of the policy advocated by Mr. Grenville. This attack called forth a reply from Burke in the form of an elaborate analysis and refutation, modestly styled "Observations on a late Publication intituled 'The Present State of

* Mr. Macknight, from information furnished by the late Earl Fitzwilliam, thinks that the bonds thus cancelled, all of which had been given within fourteen years, may have amounted to £30,000.

the Nation.'" It deals mainly with questions of a merely temporary interest, and is relieved by few passages of that rich and exuberant eloquence which we usually find in Burke's writings; but its exposure of Grenville's financial and economical blunders is marked by great skill. In certain respects its merits have been greatly exaggerated by Burke's admirers; but as a mere party pamphlet, it is among the most adroit publications of its kind ever written. Here and there we meet with some pointed sarcasm, which must have rankled in his opponent's bosom long after it was uttered, or some striking thought expressed in most felicitous language. By his occasional bursts of eloquence, and still more by the thorough mastery of his subject which he everywhere exhibits, he carries the reader along with him through a discussion necessarily somewhat dry and uninteresting. The pamphlet rendered any alliance between Mr. Grenville and the party of Lord Rockingham impossible; but it undoubtedly added much to Burke's reputation.

In the mean time two questions, not altogether dissimilar in the principles involved, were growing into an importance which overshadowed all other controverted subjects. These were the expulsion of Wilkes, and the expediency of raising a revenue by taxation in the American Colonies. After the condemnation by Parliament of the North Briton, No. 45, and his own outlawry, Wilkes had resided for some time in France; but upon the dissolution of Parliament he suddenly reappeared in London, and offered himself to the electors of the metropolis as a candidate for Parliament. Failing of an election here, he determined to contest the great county of Middlesex. At first, his arrival had created but little excitement. Soon, however, zeal in his behalf flamed up to a dangerous height; and this miserable demagogue, by identifying himself with popular rights, became a popular idol.

"When Wilkes first arrived in town," says Horace Walpole in his Memoirs of the Reign of George III., "I had seen him pass before my windows in a hackney-chair, attended but by a dozen children and women; now all Westminster was in a riot. It was not safe to pass through Piccadilly; and every family was forced to put out lights: the windows of every unilluminated house were demolished."

After a short struggle, he was triumphantly returned; but the ministry were determined that he should not enjoy the fruits of this victory. By their strenuous exertions a motion for his expulsion was carried in the House of Commons by a vote of 219 to 137, and a new election was ordered. Wilkes was again chosen; but the House declared the return null and void, and he was not allowed to take his seat. A third election followed, which resulted in the unanimous re-election of Wilkes, and the renewed refusal of the House to recognize the validity of the return. In the fourth election, Colonel Luttrell — a name familiar to every reader of Junius — came forward to oppose the popular favorite; but Wilkes was again chosen, having received 1,143 votes to 296 for Luttrell. The House of Commons, nevertheless, declared, after a debate which lasted until two o'clock on Sunday morning, and by a vote of 197 to 143, that Wilkes was incapacitated from being a candidate, and that consequently Luttrell had been duly chosen. This memorable contest extended through an entire year, and stirred the public mind both in Parliament and in the country to its lowest depth. Upon both sides the discussion was conducted with much zeal and ability. Among the speakers upon the court side was Charles James Fox, then a young man of twenty-one, who had just entered Parliament for the borough of Midhurst, and who now espoused the ministerial cause with the same warmth and energy which were afterwards freely given to the advocacy of popular rights and liberties and to the denunciation of every form of tyranny. Upon the side of the people Burke spoke several times with much ability. For Wilkes personally he had little respect; but he did not fail to perceive that the persecution of the demagogue was in reality an attack upon the liberties of the people, and he boldly stood up in defence of those liberties. He both spoke and voted with the powerless minority in Parliament, and in his correspondence he concerted measures for the adoption of petitions and remonstrances at various county meetings. The petition from Buckinghamshire was drawn up and presented by him, and he also assisted in the preparation of the Yorkshire petition.

In the various debates which took place within the same

period and in the following year upon American affairs, and upon other topics of less importance, he also took an active part. He opposed the Address in answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session in November, 1768, with much warmth; and a few weeks later he strenuously opposed the Address and Resolutions for bringing to England for trial before a special Commission any person accused of treason committed in America. When Parliament met again in January, 1770, he spoke twice in opposition to the Address, vigorously attacking the ministerial policy, and defending that great light of the modern Whig party, Sir George Savile, who had been assailed by General Conway on account of words spoken in debate. Not long afterward he spoke at length upon the famous Remonstrance and Petition of the City of London to the King, and also in support of Mr. Grenville's bill for regulating the settlement of controverted elections, which he advocated with great ability and success. In May he introduced a series of eight resolutions condemning the ministerial policy in relation to American affairs. These resolutions he advocated with even more than his usual ability, and they had also the powerful support of George Grenville; but they were defeated by a majority of two to one.

Early in the same year Burke published his "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents." This celebrated pamphlet had been for a long time in preparation, and was designed to vindicate the propriety of party connections, and the necessity of government by party. Though its publication had been delayed in order that it might be submitted in manuscript to various members of the Rockingham connection, and Burke had accordingly received suggestions from them while he was engaged upon it, there can be no doubt that the plan was entirely his own, and that the language in which it is clothed was equally his own.* It bears upon

* In a letter to Lord Rockingham in July, 1769, Burke says: "I had some notion of casting it into the form of a letter, addressed to a person who had long been in Parliament, and is now retired with all his old principles and regards still fresh and alive; I mean old Mr. White. I wish to know whether your Lordship likes this." In another letter to the same nobleman he says: "I send you a good

every page the marks of his transcendent genius, and is an imperishable monument to his unrivalled powers as a political philosopher. Less extensive than the Observations upon Grenville's pamphlet, it is not less cogent in argument, and is far more brilliant in style. Indeed, no subject could have been better suited to Burke's genius, and certainly nothing could have been more admirable than his treatment. The magnificent sweep of his generalizations as he gathers up the history of the past or paints the existing condition of affairs, the profound political truths which he teaches with unrivalled clearness and force of statement, and the splendor of his eloquence in the rhetorical passages, render it one of the most remarkable and admirable of his numerous pamphlets. It naturally provoked many replies. Of these the most striking was by Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, a sister of Alderman Sawbridge, and author of a History of England which in its own day was far more popular than was Hume's great work. This lady had adopted strong republican principles, and, taking exception to some of Burke's views, she attacked him with ability and bitterness in a pamphlet which is now forgotten, but which had an extended reputation at the time.

During the next three or four years Burke spoke frequently, and often with great ability and animation, as is evident even from the imperfect reports now lying before us. Among the subjects thus discussed were a petition from certain clergymen praying for relief from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles,

part of what I have been meditating about the system of the court, and which you were so earnest to see carried into execution. I thought it better to let you see what was finished, rather than to postpone it until the whole was completed. The design appears distinctly enough, from what has been done. If you and your friends approve of it, you will be so good to send it back, with your observations, as soon as possible, that it may go to the press." In a subsequent letter he says: "Since I began this letter, which was two or three days ago, I have done something not wholly to displease myself, in the beginning of the pamphlet. It was necessary to change it wholly from the manner in which you saw it, and I think the change has not been for the worse." Finally, in a letter dated December 5, 1769, he writes: "I wait, with some impatience, the return of the papers, with your observations and corrections. If ever, they ought to appear as soon as possible. I am drawing to a conclusion, but I do not send this manuscript; partly, because it is not yet arranged to my mind; partly, because I expect soon to see your Lordship in London."

a bill for the relief of the Dissenters, which he warmly supported, two bills for restraining the East India Company from the performance of certain acts, to which he gave an equally strenuous opposition, and the Boston Port Bill and the Quebec Bill, against both of which he spoke several times.* On the 19th of April, 1774, just one year before the skirmish at Lexington, he delivered a memorable speech on the general subject of American Taxation, in the debate on Mr. Rose Fuller's motion for a repeal of the duty on tea. This speech is reprinted in his Works, and is the earliest speech of which we have any adequate report. It made a deep impression on the House, and it was universally allowed that Burke had excelled himself, and had made the most masterly speech ever perhaps uttered in a public assembly. Nor need we feel surprised that this impression should have been produced upon those who heard it, when we consider how powerfully it fixes the reader's attention even now, after the lapse of more than three quarters of a century. The richness of its style, its freshness and its harmonious flow, and the variety and felicity of its illustrations, elevate it above the standard of Parliamentary eloquence not less certainly than do the breadth of its views and the depth of its wisdom place it among the finest productions of political philosophy. In truth, nothing can be happier than the characterization of George Grenville, the description of Lord Chatham's second ministry and of

* Several of his speeches on the Quebec Bill are deserving of especial notice, particularly those upon the clauses establishing the boundary line between Canada and New York, and allowing the free exercise of the Romish faith, and upon a motion for introducing a clause providing for trial by jury in civil causes. In one of these speeches, delivered on the 7th of June, 1774, he stated his views upon the general subject of toleration, at the same time maintaining that "every one ought to contribute to the support of some religion or other." Referring to home politics, he said: "There is but one healing, catholic principle of toleration which ought to find favor in this House. It is needed, not only in our Colonies, but here. The thirsty earth of our own country is gasping and gaping and crying out for that healing shower from heaven." And he added: "I look upon the people of Canada as coming, by the dispensation of God, under the British government. I would have us govern it in the same manner as the all-wise disposition of Providence would govern it. We know He suffers the sun to shine upon the righteous and unrighteous; and we ought to suffer all classes, without distinction, to enjoy equally the right of worshipping God according to the light he has been pleased to give them."

the confusion into which it was thrown when his controlling presence was withdrawn, the sketch of Charles Townshend's character, and the indignant reply to Lord Carmarthen. Nor would it be easy to find elsewhere a more profound philosophy applied to the discussion of political affairs, than presides over his whole treatment of the complicated questions with which he had to deal. But those winged words fell on unwilling ears; other counsels prevailed; and the motion was lost by a vote of 49 to 182.

Early in the autumn of 1774 Parliament was dissolved, and a new election was ordered, — a state of things for which Burke was by no means prepared. The pecuniary affairs of Lord Verney, through whose interest he had hitherto been returned free of expense, had become so much embarrassed, that it was necessary for Burke "either to quit public life or to find some other avenue to Parliament." In this emergency he had recourse to Lord Rockingham, in a long letter frankly stating all the circumstances of the case. The result was that Lord Rockingham placed his own borough of Malton at Burke's disposal, and he was at once elected. But scarcely had this arrangement been completed when he received a new honor, and a fresh mark of the estimation in which his services were held. Upon the very day of his return, he received an invitation to stand as one of the candidates for the great commercial city of Bristol. After a brief consultation with his new constituents he determined to accept the invitation, and at once set out for Bristol, where the poll was then in progress. The struggle was severe and protracted; but at its conclusion Burke was declared to be elected, and he accordingly took his seat in Parliament as member for Bristol. His speeches at Bristol upon the occasion of offering himself as a candidate and at the close of the poll were printed in a pamphlet at the time, and are reproduced in his collected Works. They are moderate and judicious in tone, and are chiefly noticeable as containing an explicit declaration that he should not feel bound by the instructions of his constituents to vote upon any question in a manner contrary to his own assured convictions. Upon this point he afterwards had occasion to repeat his opinions at greater length, and with even added force of

argument; but this early statement of them was an important and significant step.

American affairs at once engaged the attention of Parliament, and the whole course of the ministerial policy was vigorously assailed. Fox had not yet formally allied himself with the Rockingham Whigs, but throughout these debates he acted in entire harmony with Burke. Both took a conspicuous part in the discussions, and it is generally conceded that they never spoke with greater power, or with a more entire command of their resources, than they did during the American war. Mr. Grattan, who had often heard Fox speak, bore strong testimony in later years to the surpassing ability of his speeches upon American questions; and his judgment is confirmed by Burke, Gibbon, Horace Walpole, and others, who refer to particular speeches in terms of the highest praise. It is to this period that we likewise owe the finest of Burke's published speeches, and the imperfect reports of others show that they were equal to any of his subsequent speeches which were not revised for publication by himself. The warmth of his language sometimes indeed led him to the extreme verge of Parliamentary decorum; but even in his most passionate appeals the correctness of his general principles could not be denied. Among the more noticeable speeches which he delivered at the commencement of this session, was one upon the second Petition of the London merchants for reconciliation with America. In this speech he painted in strong colors the horrors of a civil war brought on by "the counsels of a ministry precipitate to dye the rivers of America with the blood of her inhabitants," and boldly told them that they could not accomplish the destruction of America, "without at the same time plunging a dagger into the vitals of Great Britain." At this time, in common with some of the other Opposition leaders, he appears to have contemplated an impeachment of the ministers, professedly reserving himself, in the words of the report before us, "for that day when, if properly supported by the people, he vowed, by all that was dear to him here and hereafter, he would pursue to condign punishment the advisers of measures fraught with every destructive consequence to the constitution,

the commerce, the rights and liberties of England." He also spoke with great earnestness and power in opposition to the bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the New England Colonies, and in opposition to Lord North's Conciliatory Proposition. But the ablest of all his speeches was delivered upon the 22d of March, 1775, in introducing his own plan for Conciliation with America. This celebrated speech produced but little effect upon Parliament, yet it is scarcely possible to exaggerate its merits. Fox, whose opinion upon such a subject must have the authority of a final judgment, pronounced it the greatest of Burke's speeches, and Sir James Mackintosh, whose criticism is scarcely less valuable, is equally strong in his praise. "It has," says that eminent man in his Journal, "the careful correctness of his first manner, joined to the splendor of his second; it was the highest flight of his genius under the guidance of taste. Except a few *Burkeisms* in the noble peroration, it contains few deviations from beauty." The perfect familiarity with the subject which it everywhere exhibits, the largeness of its views, the irresistible weight of its arguments, and the felicity of its style, must always render it a favorite among Burke's speeches. The ministerial majority, however, and even the country at large, were deaf to his warnings. A part of his resolutions were lost by a successful motion for the previous question, and the rest were voted down by an overwhelming majority.

It is a singular circumstance, that the American war was from the first one of the most popular wars in which England was ever engaged. Opposition to it presented few hopes of official honor or popular favor.

"I confess, too," says Lord Rockingham in a letter to Burke dated September 24th, 1775, "that from every information which I receive, and which the observations made both by Lord John and Lord George [Cavendish], and also by the Duke of Manchester and Sir George Savile, all confirm, the real fact is, that the generality of the people of England are now led away by the misrepresentations and arts of the ministry, the court, and their abettors; so that the violent measures towards America are fairly adopted and countenanced by a majority of individuals of all ranks, professions, or occupations in this country."

Burke, too, declared, in a letter to the Duke of Rich-

mond two days later, that he was "sensible of the shocking indifference and neutrality of a great part of the nation." In another letter he laments over the degeneracy of the people, and says that the merchants "consider the American war not so much their calamity, as their resource in an inevitable distress." Burke, however, was still the zealous champion of liberty, and on the 16th of November, 1775, he again came forward in behalf of the oppressed Colonists, with a motion for leave to bring in a bill "for composing the present troubles, and for quieting the minds of his Majesty's subjects in America." This motion he supported in another elaborate speech, which occupied more than three hours in the delivery; but upon a division it was defeated by a majority of two to one. In November of the following year he seconded Lord John Cavendish's motion for a "revisal of all Acts of Parliament, by which his Majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved." Upon this motion he spoke twice in the same evening, — the second time in reply to Wedderburne, then Solicitor-General; and on both occasions he is said to have spoken with great animation. The second speech, in particular, appears to have been one of his most brilliant and pointed productions.

The minority, which had long been feeble and almost powerless, had diminished so much of late, that upon Lord John Cavendish's motion they only numbered 47 votes. In consequence of this result, Burke, Fox, and some of the other leaders of the party, strongly recommended a secession from Parliament. Early in January, 1777, Burke wrote an argumentative letter to Lord Rockingham upon the right and expediency of a secession under the existing circumstances. At the same time he drew up and enclosed to his Lordship an eloquent Address to the King, rehearsing in clear and dignified language the history of the American troubles, and strongly condemning the whole course of the ministerial policy; and he also prepared a Conciliatory Address to the Colonists designed for circulation upon this side of the Atlantic. But the plan of a general secession was not favorably received, and was only partially carried out. A few weeks later, Burke addressed a long and admirable letter to the

Sheriffs of Bristol upon the general subject of American affairs, with a special reference to the recent passage of a bill for the partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. This letter was at once published, and was not without effect in the country.

Shortly after the preparation of this letter a new question arose, which appeared to the Opposition leaders to afford a favorable opportunity for renewing their regular attendance in Parliament. On the 9th of April, Lord North brought down a message from the throne, representing for the second time in this reign that the king was laboring under pecuniary difficulties, and that the debts upon the Civil List amounted to more than £ 600,000. The debate in the Commons commenced a week after the message was delivered, and was conducted with much spirit on both sides. Burke now came forward in the character of an economical reformer; and in his speech in reply to Lord North he was very severe upon the noble lord for introducing the subject at a time when the country was already burdened with taxes, and proposing to add to their number. Beginning with a reply to the argument that the amount granted to the Civil List was insufficient for the expenses chargeable upon it, he went into a careful examination of the state of the Civil List under previous reigns, and in conclusion he maintained that "the debt incurred could not be for the royal dignity, but for purposes not fit to be avowed by the ministry, and therefore very fit to be inquired into by the House." During the next three years he seems not to have lost sight of the need of an economical and administrative reform; but the active part which he took in the various attacks on the ministry left him little time to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this object. It was not until February, 1780, that he brought forward a bill embodying the essential features of his plan. Among his principal speeches during this period were one in December, 1777, on Mr. Fox's motion for an Inquiry into the State of the Nation, and another in the following January in the debate on raising troops by subscription without the consent of Parliament. In February, 1778, he introduced a motion for an Address to the King relative to the employment of Indians

in the American war, and spoke for nearly three hours and a half with so much effect that one member expressed a desire that the speech might be affixed to all the church doors which contained the proclamation for a general fast. Many thought it superior to any previous speech of the great orator.* In May of the same year, he took a conspicuous part in the debates on the Irish Trade Bills, of which he was the most active and powerful supporter, though his constituents in Bristol were strongly opposed to them, and several of his principal friends wrote to him to express their dissatisfaction; and again in the same month he spoke at length upon Mr. Hartley's motion for putting an end to the war in America.

In the following year he took an equally important and conspicuous part in the discussions; but it is scarcely necessary or desirable to follow out in detail the history of his Parliamentary labors during this memorable year. It is sufficient to say, that in the numerous stormy debates upon the case of Admiral Keppel, and upon the various questions connected with the conduct of the American war, he was a prominent speaker, constantly assailing the ministry with argument, ridicule, and invective. In common with the other leaders of the Rockingham party, he vehemently espoused the cause of Keppel, and bitterly assailed Sir Hugh Palliser, Keppel's most active enemy. Not content with defending the Whig Admiral in Parliament, Burke went down to Portsmouth with Lord Rockingham, Fox, and other leaders of the party, to attend the court-martial convened for the trial of Keppel. Burke's son, who had just begun to keep his terms in London as a student of law, accompanied them; and both father and son were constant attendants in the court during the trial. So deeply sensible was the veteran warrior of Burke's sympathy, that he presented him with a portrait of himself by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which afterwards called forth one of the most striking passages in the "Letter to a Noble Lord."

* Strangers were excluded from the galleries during this debate, and no adequate report of Burke's speech is extant; but enough remains to show that it contained many passages which must have sent a thrill through even the most sluggish assembly. Altogether, it seems to have been singularly brilliant in style and cogent in argument.

"I ever looked on Lord Keppel," he says near the close of this celebrated production, "as one of the greatest and best men of his age; and I loved and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very last beat. It was at his trial at Portsmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory, what part my son took in the early flush and enthusiasm of his virtue, and the pious passion with which he attached himself to all my connections, with what prodigality we both squandered ourselves in courting almost every sort of enmity for his sake, I believe he felt just as I should have felt such a friendship on such an occasion."

On the 15th of December in the same year he gave notice of his long-meditated plan of economical reform in a bold and manly speech, attributing all the grievances under which the country suffered to the "fatal and overgrown influence of the crown." A few weeks later, on the 11th of February, 1780, he brought forward his proposed plan; and so persuasive was his eloquence on this occasion that even Lord North said it was one of the ablest speeches he had ever heard, and such as he believed no other member of the House was capable of making. Lord George Gordon alone rose to oppose the motion, and even insisted upon dividing the House; but no other member voted with him, and leave was accordingly granted to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of his Majesty's Civil Establishments, and of certain Public Offices, for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient places, and for applying the moneys saved thereby to the public service." Burke's speech on this motion is printed entire in his Works, is a masterpiece of ingenious and weighty argument, and by some persons is even now regarded as the finest of his productions. It has, indeed, many splendid passages; but too much of it is disfigured by the faults of his later manner. Still it is easy to see how strong an impression it must have produced upon those who heard it. A great historian, who then occupied a silent seat in Parliament, and filled one of the offices which Burke proposed to abolish, has told us with what emotions he listened to this speech. "Never," said Gibbon at a subsequent period, "can I forget the delight with which that

diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the house, and even by those whose existence he proscribed." Three days after this speech was delivered, Burke also obtained leave to bring in bills for the sale of the forest and other crown lands, with certain exceptions, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the Principality of Wales and the County Palatine of Chester, and for uniting to the crown the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster. He also moved for leave to bring in a bill for uniting the Duchy of Cornwall to the crown, but, objection being made, this motion was withdrawn. At first these measures were received with great favor, and Burke acquired an immense popularity. Gradually, however, the opposition to the proposed reform began to gain strength and courage. The result was a severe and protracted struggle. The clause in the first bill for abolishing the office of Third Secretary of State was the first upon which the House divided, and it was lost by a vote of 201 to 208. The clause abolishing the Board of Trade was carried by a majority of only eight votes; and after the rejection of a clause for reforming some of the offices in the royal household, Burke appears to have lost nearly all interest in the further progress of the bill, though he spoke several times in the subsequent debates. In the mean time, and in consequence of the opposition to Burke's plan, Mr. Dunning brought forward his celebrated motion, "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," and in his opening speech he paid a merited tribute to his friend's "uncommon zeal, unrivalled industry, astonishing abilities, and invincible perseverance." Burke took no part in this debate, but he was one of the majority who voted in favor of Mr. Dunning's declaration.

On the 1st of September Parliament was suddenly dissolved; and, in consequence of the shortness of the interval allowed for the elections, the ministry materially increased their strength in the new House. Burke once more offered himself as a candidate for the city of Bristol, and in a speech delivered in the Guildhall previously to the election he vindicated with consummate ability the course which he had recently pursued in Parliament. In the course of his remarks

he met and answered successively the various charges brought against him. Nor did he neglect to refer in just terms to the only proper rules which can govern the relations between the representative and his constituents.

"I did not obey your instructions," he said. "No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest, against your opinions, with a constancy that became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look, indeed, to your opinions; but to such opinions as you and I must have five years hence. I was not to look to the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the state, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale."

But the opposition was too strong, and Burke, having satisfied himself that he could not be chosen, determined to withdraw from the contest before the commencement of the poll. Compelled again to seek a new avenue to Parliament, he once more took refuge in Lord Rockingham's borough of Malton, from which he was promptly returned. After an animated struggle Fox was chosen for Westminster; and the Opposition to Lord North was strengthened by the election of two young men of scarcely less brilliant parts, who now entered Parliament for the first time, and who were destined to act a conspicuous part in history, — Richard Brinsley Sheridan and William Pitt.

The ministry was stronger in the new Parliament than it had been previously to the dissolution; but at length defeat and disaster to the British arms proved more powerful than the most eloquent lips. Lord North, too, became weary of office, and ineffectually besought the king to allow him to resign; and such was his anxiety to be relieved of the constant struggle which so heavily taxed his good nature, that in the course of this year overtures were made to Lord Rockingham with a view of enlarging the basis of the ministry. Some negotiations were accordingly carried on between the two parties; but the differences in regard to the details of the proposed arrangement were so great that the scheme failed. With the opening of the session the struggle was renewed with fresh

ardor; and so strongly was Lord North pressed by the king to remain in office, that it was not until March, 1782, that the Opposition succeeded in displacing the ministry. In this memorable struggle Burke was among the foremost speakers, taking an important part in the discussions upon the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser as Governor of Greenwich Hospital, upon Lord North's propositions for the renewal of the East India Company's charter, upon the causes of the war in the Carnatic, upon the Public Accounts and the Ordnance Estimates, upon Mr. Hartley's bill for restoring peace with America, and upon the bill for reforming the Civil List, on which he spoke four times.

The struggle was now fast drawing to a close. In January, 1782, Mr. Fox brought forward a motion for an inquiry into "the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval forces during the war, and more particularly in the year 1781," and sustained it in a speech of great ability. So powerful were his arguments, and so strong had the minority become, that the ministers did not venture to oppose the inquiry. When the House went into committee upon the subject, Mr. Fox again spoke at length, attacking the conduct of the admiralty, and concluding with a resolution that "there had been gross mismanagement in the conduct of his Majesty's naval affairs in the year 1781"; but the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-two. Burke did not take any conspicuous part in these debates; but a few weeks later, when General Conway brought forward a motion for putting an end to the war, he spoke at length, and with more than ordinary ability. The motion was defeated by only one vote. Alarmed at this result, the ministers at once determined to yield to the demands of the minority, so far at least as to enter into negotiations for peace. But such a course was not adapted to satisfy the Opposition; and on the 8th of March Lord John Cavendish introduced a series of resolutions, attributing the misfortunes of the war to "the want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's ministers." The motion was lost by a majority of ten. Still the feebleness of the ministry was so apparent, that the next week a motion was made that the House "can have no further confidence in the ministers who

have the direction of public affairs." This motion likewise failed; yet the Opposition felt so confident of success, that they gave immediate notice of their intention to renew the motion with the least possible delay. In the mean time Lord North determined to resign rather than continue the struggle; and having obtained the reluctant consent of the king, on the 20th he announced that the ministry was at an end.

Upon the resignation of Lord North, his Majesty sent for Lord Shelburne, whose views were less obnoxious to him than were those of the Rockingham Whigs, and offered him the first place in the government; but Lord Shelburne was true to his recent engagements with Lord Rockingham, and declined the proffered honor. After some delay the king was induced to communicate with Lord Rockingham; and at length a ministry was formed of which he became head. Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox were made Secretaries of State,—the Third Secretaryship being abolished.* Lord John Cavendish became Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Grafton returned to office as Lord Privy Seal; Admiral Keppel, whose recent trial had aroused so great an excitement, was created a Viscount and made First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond was made Master-General of the Ordnance; and General Conway was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, with a seat in the Cabinet. Lord Thurlow was unwisely retained in the Chancellorship, through the influence of the king and of Lord Shelburne. Burke was made Paymaster-General, an office which had been filled in previous administrations by the elder Pitt, Lord Holland, Lord North, and the brilliant and versatile Charles Townshend, and which in our own time has been adorned by the splendid abilities of Lord Macaulay. Among the other celebrated persons who were appointed to inferior places were Sheridan, Barré, and Thomas Townshend. The Duke of Portland was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Fox's intimate friend, Richard Fitzpatrick, accompanied him as Secretary.

* Upon Mr. Fox's appointment he became the ministerial leader in the House of Commons, and Burke's relative position in the party was much changed. He never recovered his former influence. So long as the Whig party remained unbroken, Fox continued its sole and undisputed leader.

The ministry thus included many persons of great talents, and it possessed in a considerable degree the confidence of the nation; but it also had elements of weakness which soon produced changes in its constitution, and finally led to its downfall. Dissensions and mutual jealousies showed themselves even before the new ministry took office. The continuance of Lord Thurlow in the Chancellorship was undoubtedly a fatal mistake; since he not only differed widely in principles from the two great party connections that shared the principal offices, but did not hesitate to oppose in Parliament with the utmost bitterness the measures agreed upon in the Cabinet. His continuance seems to have been demanded by the king, and was assented to by Lord Shelburne without previous consultation with the Rockingham Whigs. In the same manner Lord Shelburne added to the original list of the Cabinet the name of his own friend and supporter, John Dunning, who was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Ashburton. This promotion excited the jealousy of the Rockingham party, though they acquiesced in it; and, in order to equalize the rewards, Sir Fletcher Norton, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, was also called to the Upper House, and created Lord Grantley. The same jealousy was likewise recognized in the disposition of other offices and honors; but the only pensions conferred by the new ministers were given to supporters of Lord Shelburne. Though sufficiently eager for places and titles, the Rockingham Whigs showed an honorable disregard for the mere emoluments of office. "The only jobs," said Mr. Fox after his rupture with Lord Shelburne, "in which the Rockingham administration were concerned, were jobs for two men, neither friendly to their persons nor principles."

The dissensions in the Cabinet were still more strongly felt in the negotiations at Paris for terminating the American war. There Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox maintained separate agents, from the unfortunate circumstance that the negotiations with France and those with the United States belonged to different departments.* The mutual jealousies

* The gentleman appointed by Lord Shelburne to conduct the negotiations with Dr. Franklin was Mr. Richard Oswald, a respectable London merchant. He con-

which these agents felt were soon transferred by Mr. Grenville to England; and the result was that Fox at once conceived a violent distrust of his colleague. Mr. Grenville himself was greatly exasperated at what he considered double-dealing on the part of Lord Shelburne, and was anxious to throw up his mission. In addition to this cause of suspicion and distrust, Mr. Fox entertained an entirely different opinion from Lord Shelburne in regard to the basis on which the negotiations should be conducted, and he had been twice outvoted in the Cabinet upon this important question. Under these circumstances he declared his intention of resigning, and was prevented from doing so at once only by the illness of Lord Rockingham, which terminated fatally on the 1st of July, a little more than three months after the ministers took office.

The death of Lord Rockingham brought matters to a crisis. On the following day Lord Shelburne announced to his colleagues that the king desired him to accept the Treasury; and he added, that from the manner in which the offer was made it would be impossible for him to decline, though he should have preferred the appointment of one of Lord Rockingham's friends.* This announcement was received with but little favor by the other Whig leaders, who were zealous for the appointment of the Duke of Portland, at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Finding the opposition of his colleagues so strong, Lord Shelburne begged that they would not determine upon any line of conduct until he had had an opportunity of conversing with his Majesty upon the subject. The king was resolute in resisting the dictation of the Whig aristocracy; and three days after the death of Lord Rockingham Mr. Fox resigned.

The resignation of Mr. Fox led to the most important results, and left a deep and permanent effect upon the political history of England. It separated men who had long acted

tinued in this mission until the negotiations were concluded. Mr. Fox's representative was Mr. Thomas Grenville, a younger son of the famous Chancellor of the Exchequer. After the appointment of Lord Shelburne as prime minister he was recalled at his own request.

* Lord Temple, however, states in a letter to his brother, Thomas Grenville, printed in the Buckingham Papers, that Lord Shelburne intimated to him a wish and intention to take the Treasury.

together in harmony; it divided and finally broke up the great Whig party; it brought forward a new and formidable rival to Mr. Fox; and it paved the way for his own memorable coalition with Lord North. The withdrawal of Mr. Fox and of Lord John Cavendish, who also resigned on account of his dislike of Lord Shelburne, was immediately followed by the resignation of Lord Robert Spencer, Burke, Sheridan, and most of their political and personal friends. The Duke of Richmond, Lord Camden, Lord Keppel, and General Conway, however, determined to continue in office. In the new arrangements rendered necessary by the appointment of Lord Shelburne as First Lord of the Treasury, and in consequence of these resignations, Mr. Thomas Townshend and Lord Grantham were made Secretaries of State. Colonel Barré succeeded Mr. Burke as Paymaster-General; and Mr. Dundas became Treasurer of the Navy. But a more important accession to Lord Shelburne's strength was the appointment of William Pitt, the second son of Lord Chatham, then a young man of twenty-three, to succeed Lord John Cavendish as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The subject of the ministerial changes was speedily brought forward in Parliament, and formed the principal topic in a debate to which the pension conferred upon Colonel Barré by the late administration had given rise.* In the course of this debate Fox made a violent attack upon the new ministers, stigmatizing them as "men whom neither promises could bind nor principles of honor could secure; they would abandon fifty principles for the sake of power, and forget fifty promises when they were no longer necessary to their ends." To this diatribe he added: "He had no doubt but that, to secure themselves in the power which they had by the labor of others obtained, they would now strive to strengthen themselves by any means which corruption could procure; and he expected to see that, in a very short time, they would be joined

* Lord Shelburne subsequently stated in the House of Lords that the pension was conferred upon Colonel Barré at the recommendation of Lord Rockingham, to compensate him for resigning his pretensions to the Pay Office in favor of Burke. On the very next day Burke indignantly denied the assertion in the House of Commons, and his denial was confirmed by Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Fox.

by those men whom that House had precipitated from their seats." Burke was equally violent, and "called heaven and earth to witness that he verily believed the present ministry would be fifty times worse than that of the noble Lord who lately had been reprobated and removed."* The debate was closed by Mr. Lee, the late Solicitor-General, who commented upon the youth and inexperience of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, declaring that, "though the honorable gentleman would adorn any scene in which his part was properly cast, yet he did not think the confidence of the people would be much increased by putting the complicated business of the finances into the hands of a boy." The speeches of Mr. Fox and his friends were certainly not wanting in violence and bitterness; but it must be conceded that they do not present a very satisfactory defence of the course taken by the Rockingham Whigs. It is only by the light of documents which have recently been published for the first time, that we are able to perceive the real and justifiable grounds of that action.

Shortly after this debate Parliament was prorogued; and during the recess the ministers industriously prosecuted the negotiations at Paris. After much delay the terms of the peace were adjusted; and on the 30th of November, 1782, a provisional treaty was signed by the Commissioners of Great Britain and the United States, but without the knowledge of the French government. Subsequently, on the 20th of January, 1783, preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were also signed; and before the close of the month the three treaties were laid before Parliament. In the mean time it had become evident that, in order to carry on the government, the ministry must strengthen itself by gaining support from one or both of the other parties. According to an estimate circulated at the time, the ministers could count only 140 votes in their favor. The friends of Lord North numbered 120; and Mr. Fox was at the head of a party smaller than either of the other two, but superior in talents, and numbering 90 votes. In this balanced state of parties a union of any

* In one of his letters to Mr. Roget, Sir Samuel Romilly says, in reference to Burke's speech, that he spoke "with uncommon warmth, — uncommon rage I should rather say."

two would leave its opponents in a decided minority. Accordingly various negotiations were opened, all of which failed of success excepting one for a coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox. The first step towards the formation of this celebrated coalition was taken by George North, Lord North's son, and he was warmly seconded by Lord John Townshend. Burke also approved of the coalition; and according to Lord John Townshend, Sheridan was "one of the most eager and clamorous for it," though he afterwards boasted that he had always been opposed to it. The immediate result of this junction was the resignation of the ministers upon the passage of an amendment to the Address in answer to the King's Speech communicating the preliminary articles of peace.

The coalition, however, did not find it so easy to get into office as they had anticipated. A ministerial interregnum of unexampled length followed, in consequence of the king's unwillingness to admit Mr. Fox and his friends to office. Finally, on the 24th of March, Mr. Coke, the celebrated agriculturist, gave notice for the second time that he should move for an inquiry into the causes of the delay in forming a ministry, unless Mr. Pitt would say that he had accepted the seals of the Treasury. In answer to this question Pitt replied that he had not taken office, and was not aware that any arrangement had been made. The proposed Address was then moved, and adopted; and on the following day a vague answer was returned. But in consequence of its adoption, the negotiations with the coalition were once more resumed; and finally, after many delays and interruptions, his Majesty yielded to the necessity imposed upon him.* Throughout

* The king's feelings towards his new ministers were exceedingly bitter. In a letter to Lord Temple dated April 1st, 1783, and published in the first volume of the Buckingham Papers, his Majesty says: "Judge, therefore, of the uneasiness of my mind, at having been thwarted in every attempt to keep the administration out of the hands of the most unprincipled coalition the annals of this or any other nation can equal. I have withstood it till not a single man is willing to come to my assistance, and till the House of Commons has taken every step but insisting on this faction being by name elected ministers." In another place his Majesty intimates his intention of getting rid of his new ministers as soon as possible. "I hope," he says, "many months will not elapse before the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and other men of ability and character, will relieve me from a situation that nothing could have compelled me to submit to, but the supposition that no other means remained of preventing the public finances from being materially affected."

this protracted struggle Burke does not appear to have taken any active part, — probably on account of his being engaged at that time in the preparation of the Ninth Report on Indian Affairs; but that he approved of the course pursued by the coalition is sufficiently clear from the fact that he at once accepted a place under it.

On the 2d of April, thirty-seven days after the resignation of Lord Shelburne, the coalition ministry took office. In that famous ministry the Duke of Portland was First Lord of the Treasury, Lord North and Mr. Fox were the two Secretaries of State, Lord John Cavendish was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Stormont President of the Council, Lord Carlisle Privy Seal, and Admiral Keppel First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Thurlow was deprived of the Chancellorship, and the Great Seal was put into commission. Burke was again made Paymaster-General; and the other offices were divided among the adherents of the two Secretaries. So ill-assorted a union had not been seen since the second ministry of Lord Chatham, which Burke had admirably characterized some years before in an often-quoted passage. "He made an administration," we are told in the speech on American Taxation, "so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; — that it was, indeed, a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on."

It was natural that the country should regard the coalition with but little favor. "Unless a real good government is the consequence," wrote Fox's friend and kinsman, Richard Fitzpatrick, "nothing can justify it to the public." Even this poor justification it was not destined to have; and in the end it was ruinous to the reputation and future usefulness of those most largely concerned in it. It doomed Fox to more than twenty years of fruitless opposition; for the king never forgave or forgot the constraint put upon him at this time. Nor

was Fox compensated in public estimation for the ill-will with which he was regarded by George III. The recollection of the coalition and of his course upon the India Bill clung to him for many years, and both were associated in the public mind with dishonor and an eager grasping for power. The coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox is only a more conspicuous illustration of the general truth which all history teaches, that coalitions are rarely if ever popular. It added nothing to the reputation of Lord North, although, as Horace Walpole wittily observed, "he got himself whitewashed by his bitterest enemies." In the case of Mr. Fox it has always given his eulogists infinite trouble; and very few persons at the present day will think of defending his course. Nor did even Burke's reputation escape without suffering some severe and damaging attacks. The most important of these was based upon his course in reference to two clerks in the Pay Office, named Powell and Bembridge, who had been dismissed by the late Paymaster-General on account of alleged malpractices. When Burke returned to office he immediately reappointed them; and on the 2d of May the subject was brought to the notice of the House of Commons. A brief and animated conversation ensued, in the course of which one member remarked, "that, when he heard from the highest authority, that two considerable clerks in office had been dismissed for gross misbehavior, and that they were afterwards restored, he could not help looking upon their restoration as a gross and daring insult to the public." Burke immediately rose in a violent fit of passion, exclaiming, "It is a gross and daring —"; but before he could finish the sentence Sheridan drew him down into his seat, "lest his heat," says the Parliamentary History, "should betray him into some intemperate expressions that might offend the House." No action was taken at this time; but the subject was again brought before the House several times before it was finally settled. Meanwhile Powell committed suicide; and though the House refused to condemn Burke's conduct, the feeling upon the subject was so strong that his friends advised him to accept Bembridge's resignation. He accordingly did so; and in the following month Bembridge was

convicted by the Court of King's Bench upon a charge of conniving at the concealment of more than £ 48,000, and was sentenced to pay a fine and to be imprisoned for six months.

In the course of the year, and subsequently to his return to office, Burke presented to the House two masterly Reports from the Select Committee on the Affairs of India, designed to prepare the way for Mr. Fox's East India Bill. In the first of these reports he gave an elaborate survey of the actual condition of the East India Company's affairs abroad, of the relations of Great Britain and India, and of the effects of the revenue investment of the Company. He then discussed at great length the trade and government of India, everywhere exhibiting the most perfect familiarity with his subject, and sharply criticising the conduct of Hastings, at that time Governor-General. The Eleventh Report followed at a later date, and is almost exclusively devoted to the conduct of Hastings, which is thoroughly scrutinized and elaborately described. From the date of these Reports to the close of his Parliamentary career, Indian affairs were among the chief subjects which engaged Burke's thoughts; and the part which he took in them forms one of the most important chapters in his life.

On the 19th of November, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in two bills, one "for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain Commissioners," and the other "for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India." These bills had been drawn with much care, and were designed to effect a radical reform in Indian affairs. By whom they were originally drafted is uncertain. It has sometimes been asserted that the first sketch was prepared by Burke, and that the bills were then drawn by Mr. Pigot, afterward Attorney-General under Lord Grenville; but the evidence for this statement is not conclusive. It is known, however, that Lord North, Lord Loughborough, and Mr. Pigot were consulted in regard to the details; and there can be no doubt that Burke also contributed his advice and information. After a very able and elaborate speech by Mr. Fox, discussing the affairs of the

East at much length, and dwelling with great severity upon the policy of Hastings, and a few remarks by other members, leave was granted to bring in the proposed bills. Accordingly two days afterward Mr. Fox introduced his first bill. The motion for the second reading was opposed by Mr. William Wyndham Grenville and others; but it seems to have been carried without a division, and on the 27th the great struggle commenced. Fox opened the debate in a speech even more powerful and elaborate than that which he delivered upon the introduction of the bill, sharply assailing the management of the East India Company, and declaring "that, if he should fall in this, he should fall in a great and glorious cause, struggling not only for the Company, but for the people of Great Britain and India, — for many, many millions of souls." The motion that the bill be referred to a committee of the whole House was opposed by Mr. Pitt, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, but it was carried by a majority of 109. On the 1st of December the debate was resumed, upon a motion that the House resolve itself into a committee upon the bill. The opposition was very ably conducted by William Pitt, Dundas, Thomas Pitt, and others. On the other side, the bill was supported by Fox, Lord John Cavendish, Burke, and other prominent leaders of the coalition. It was in this debate that Burke delivered his celebrated panegyric on Mr. Fox, at the close of a splendid argument in favor of the bill, which was afterwards written out and published. "Let him use his time," said Burke. "Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He never can exceed what he does this day."

In the division the ministry was sustained by a majority of 114. On the 8th of December, the third reading was carried by a majority of 106; and on the following day the bill was presented at the bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Fox, attended by a great number of Commons. Upon the first reading Lords Thurlow and Temple took occasion to avow a strong opposition to the bill; and not only did they oppose it in debate, but they also made use of their influence with the

king to overthrow its authors. The king eagerly availed himself of an opportunity which seemed so propitious for gratifying his resentment, and previously to the second reading he placed a written memorandum in the hands of Lord Temple, "that he should deem those who should vote for it, not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that, if Lord Temple could put this in stronger words, he had full authority to do so." In consequence of this interference of his Majesty some of the peers withdrew their proxies from the ministers, and others who had been supposed to be friendly to the bill voted with the Opposition. Upon the 15th of December an adjournment was carried against the ministry by a majority of 87 to 79. On the same day the king's interference formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, and a resolution was introduced, "that it is now necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or any pretended opinion, of his Majesty, upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honor of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country." This resolution, which was strenuously opposed by William Pitt, was carried by a majority of 73. Two days afterward the bill was rejected in the Upper House by a majority of 95 to 76; and at twelve o'clock on the following night a message was sent to the two Secretaries of State by the king, "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the Under Secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The seals were immediately given to Earl Temple; and the next day the other members of the Cabinet were dismissed.

Upon the dismission of the ministers William Pitt was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Marquis of Carmarthen Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and Lord Sydney Secretary for the Home Department. Lord Thurlow returned to the Chancellorship. The other Cabinet Ministers were Earl Gower, Lord Howe, and the Duke of Rutland, who was afterward

appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Temple declined to accept a place in the Cabinet in consequence of the indignation excited by his unconstitutional conduct. In inferior places were Kenyon, afterward Chief Justice, William Wyndham Grenville, Henry Dundas, and Lord Mulgrave. With the accession of the new ministers commenced another remarkable struggle between the two great English parties. Upon one side was Fox, at the head of a great majority of the House of Commons, eager to drive from power the ministers who had obtained office by such disgraceful means. On the other side was Pitt, sustained by all the weight of the king's personal influence, equally determined not to suffer any successful attack upon the royal prerogatives. In this unequal contest Fox was finally defeated; and the great party which he had so long led dwindled to a mere handful of attached and devoted followers.

Having failed in their attempt to reform the abuses of the Indian government by means of Mr. Fox's bills, and hopelessly defeated in their long and wasting struggle to regain power, the Whig leaders determined to bring to punishment the authors of the abuses which they had so strongly condemned. On the 28th of February, 1785, Mr. Fox brought forward a motion for papers relative to the course pursued by the ministers in regard to the private debts of the Nabob of Arcot. In the course of the debate Burke delivered a powerful speech upon the particular question then at issue, displaying throughout a familiarity with the affairs of India which few persons then possessed. This speech is in some respects one of the most remarkable of Burke's Parliamentary efforts, and, though disfigured by his worst faults of style, it contains passages of the most brilliant and moving eloquence. Still the motion was lost by a majority of 164 to 69. In April of the following year he presented to the House of Commons an elaborate series of Articles of Charge against Hastings, rehearsing under appropriate heads the various topics which entered into the charges, and drawing out in detail the special offences committed under each. In May Hastings was heard at the bar of the House in reply to the charges; and during the course of the year they were at various times thoroughly

discussed in committee of the whole House. The several speeches of Burke on the Rohilla charge, of Fox on the Benares charge, and of Sheridan on the Begum charge, in particular, were masterpieces of brilliant invective and cogent argument. On the 3d of April, 1787, it was voted that the articles of charge furnished ground for impeaching Warren Hastings, Esq., late Governor-General of Bengal, and that a committee of twenty should be appointed to prepare articles of impeachment. Burke was placed at the head of this committee; and among his associates were Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Philip Francis, George North, and Charles Grey, then a young man of twenty-three, just beginning a long and faithful career in the service of the state, to be crowned forty-five years later by the passage of the Reform Bill. The Committee reported with considerable despatch, and on the 10th of May it was voted to impeach Hastings, and "that Mr. Burke do go to the Lords, and at their bar, in the name of the House of Commons, do impeach Warren Hastings, Esq., late Governor-General of Bengal, of High Crimes and Misdemeanors." In pursuance of this vote Burke, attended by a majority of the Commons, immediately proceeded to the bar of the House of Lords, and there impeached Hastings in the prescribed form.

On the 13th of February, 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall, and it was continued with numerous intermissions until April, 1795, when the Lords voted that the charges were not proved. Burke's closing argument, which lasted for nine days, had been delivered in May and June of the preceding year; and immediately afterward, on the 20th of June, 1794, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, passed a vote of thanks to "the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them." This was the last day on which Burke appeared in his seat as a member of Parliament. Having conducted the trial to a close, so far as it depended upon the managers, he immediately applied for the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and resigned his seat. It has formed no part of our intention to describe the details of this memorable trial; for that duty

has long since been discharged by the greatest of living historians, in a manner which no subsequent writer can hope to rival. Nor is it necessary to dwell upon Burke's connection with the trial. It is sufficient to say, that neither in the House of Commons when vindicating the propriety of his own course as a manager or seeking to obtain new evidence against the great culprit, nor when arguing before the Peers, did he spare any exertion to secure the punishment of Hastings. The voluminous collection of his speeches in Westminster Hall, with all their wealth of fancy and imagination, their splendor of invective, and their weight of argument, and the still more numerous speeches which he delivered in the House of Commons upon questions growing out of the trial, are an imperishable monument of his zeal, eloquence, and fidelity on this memorable occasion. To Burke, Hastings was, indeed, the incarnation of all the misgovernment India had ever suffered from Englishmen; and though we may condemn the extravagance of language with which he advocated a just cause, it may be doubted whether any statesman was ever actuated by purer motives than he was in the prosecution of Hastings. Yet he became extremely unpopular, and was constantly assailed with every form of obloquy, on account of the part which he took. Madame D'Arblay has recorded in her Diary the feelings with which she saw Burke enter Westminster Hall, and listened to his eloquence.

"I shuddered, and drew involuntarily back," she says, "when, as the doors were flung open, I saw Mr. Burke, as head of the Committee, make his solemn entry. He held a scroll in his hand, and walked alone, his brow knit with corroding care and deep laboring thought, — a brow how different to that which had proved so alluring to my warmest admiration when first I met him! So highly as he had been my favorite, so captivating as I had found his manners and conversation in our first acquaintance, and so much as I had owed to his zeal and kindness to me and my affairs in its progress, — how did I grieve to behold him now the cruel prosecutor (such to me he appeared) of an injured and innocent man! .... Were talents such as these exercised in the service of truth, unbiassed by party and prejudice, how could we sufficiently applaud their exalted possessor? But though frequently he made me tremble by his strong and horrible representations, his own violence recovered me, by stigmatizing his assertions with personal ill-will and

designing illiberality. Yet, at times, I confess, with all that I felt, wished, and thought concerning Mr. Hastings, the whirlwind of his eloquence nearly drew me into its vortex."

Doubtless Madame D'Arblay in describing her own feelings has faithfully represented those of a large number of Burke's fair auditors. But he was subjected to much harsher criticism than this. The Parliamentary debates bear abundant testimony to the activity and bitterness of Hastings's friends. Once, indeed, in May, 1789, they succeeded in passing a direct vote of censure upon Burke's conduct as a manager, and in several instances placed serious obstacles in his way.

In the long and fierce struggle between the ministry and the Opposition growing out of the king's illness and the introduction of the Regency Bill, Burke took a very earnest part, in support of the theory of Lord Loughborough and Mr. Fox, and in opposition to Mr. Pitt's doctrine that the Prince of Wales had no better title to the Regency than any other individual in the kingdom. On one occasion, in particular, he came into sharp collision with Mr. Pitt, who replied in his usual supercilious manner, but with scathing severity. Following these angry discussions a new question arose, which divided Burke's attention, alienated him from the friends with whom he had so long acted, and threw him into new and strange company. From the first outbreak of the French Revolution, Fox, Sheridan, and Grey espoused the cause of the Revolutionists. Burke, on the other hand, departing from the principles of his earlier years, and pardoning very little to the spirit of liberty, entered warmly into the support of the monarchy. The result was a violent rupture of all those ties of friendship and affection which had so long united him with Fox in the common advocacy of common objects. In his place in Parliament and by numerous pamphlets he assailed with great and increasing acrimony the principles and the doings of the Revolutionists, and sharply condemned the course of those who sympathized with them. His first and least violent publication upon the subject was a pamphlet entitled "Reflections on the Revolution in France," which was given to the world in the latter part of the year 1790. It was certainly a very able and brilliant argument on the side

which Burke had espoused with all the ardor of a recent convert; but few readers can fail to notice how much its whole tone and spirit are at variance with his former writings. It called out numerous replies, of which all but two are forgotten, Paine's "Rights of Man," and the "Vindiciæ Gallicæ" of Sir James Mackintosh, a work which at once gave its author a reputation and opened the way for a splendid career.

On the 6th of May in the following year occurred the memorable rupture between Burke and Fox. The former had already broken with Sheridan, in consequence of a difference of opinion in regard to the French Revolution; and in a debate on the Army Estimates in 1790 the want of sympathy between Burke and Fox had also been clearly shown. With the lapse of time the opinions of both strengthened, and their differences widened. Finally, in the course of a debate upon the Quebec Government Bill, they came to an open rupture, under circumstances of painful acrimony, which might well move the stoutest heart. "It certainly was indiscretion," said Burke, "at any period, but especially at his time of life, to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his last breath exclaim, 'Fly from the French constitution.'" At this point Fox whispered, "There is no loss of friends." Burke immediately answered, that "there was a loss of friends; he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friend; their friendship was at an end." After such a termination of a personal friendship which had lasted for more than a quarter of a century, commencing even before Fox entered public life, it was natural that both should be deeply moved. The Parliamentary History tells us that, when Fox rose to reply, "his mind was so much agitated, and his heart so much affected by what had fallen from Mr. Burke, that it was some minutes before he could proceed. Tears trickled down his cheeks, and he strove in vain to give utterance to feelings that dignified and exalted his nature. The sensibility of every member in the House appeared uncommonly excited on the occasion." Superior as Burke was to

Fox in intellectual force, it must be conceded that the latter possessed a sweetness of temper to which the great political philosopher could never lay claim. A coolness must necessarily have existed between them in consequence of the divergence of their opinions; but Fox would certainly have maintained friendly relations with his former teacher and ally, if Burke's vehemence would have permitted it.

Two months after this memorable breach Burke published another pamphlet on the Revolution, the "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," designed to show that his own opinions were in accordance with established Whig principles. In December of the same year he drew up and submitted to the ministry a brief paper, entitled "Thoughts on French Affairs," in which he discussed the character and aims of the Revolution, and maintained that the principles then prevalent in France were dangerous and hostile to other governments; and in the course of the next four years he drew up and submitted to the ministry several other papers. Among them were the "Heads for Consideration on the Present State of Affairs," and the "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity," the latter of which was presented to Mr. Pitt in November, 1795, and discussed with great ability the existing condition of the agricultural population, with some remarks on the evils to be apprehended from the spread of French principles. The "Observations on the Conduct of the Minority," in which he sharply criticised the course of Mr. Fox, under fifty-four specifications, and which was drawn up in 1793, was also privately submitted to the Duke of Portland, and was originally published without Burke's consent or knowledge. In 1796 he published his eloquent and touching "Letter to a Noble Lord," in reply to the attacks upon him in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale, in consequence of the recent grant of three pensions to him by the ministry. This celebrated production has been much and justly admired, and certainly few even of Burke's writings are more remarkable specimens of mingled argument, invective, pathos, low conceits, and lofty eloquence. This was followed by three "Letters on a Regicide Peace," the last of which was passing through the press at

the time of his death; and a fourth letter was also in preparation at the same time, and was published in his collected Works.

Though Burke was thus busy with his pen, he was not idle in Parliament during the years which intervened between his rupture with Mr. Fox and his withdrawal from public life. In May, 1792, he strongly opposed a reform of the representation in Parliament, in the debate upon Mr. Grey's notice of a motion on that subject; and a few days later he spoke at length in opposition to Mr. Fox's motion for leave to bring in a bill to repeal and alter certain statutes which weighed heavily upon the Unitarian Dissenters. After this time, however, his speeches had reference almost exclusively to the impeachment of Hastings, the conduct of the war with France, and the measures of domestic coercion by which the ministry sought to quench the rising complaints of the people. Though often marked by his accustomed power, these speeches show how completely Burke's imagination had gained the victory over his reasoning faculties. The famous dagger scene was only a more conspicuous illustration of the ardor of imagination and vehemence of tone which characterized nearly all his Parliamentary efforts at this time.

At length Burke's health gave way under these incessant labors, and under the burden of grief laid upon him by the death of his son on the 2d of August, 1794. This blow fell with terrible severity upon the veteran statesman, and from that time his own strength began to decay. It was in vain that he sought relief from the waters of Bath, where he spent a part of the winter and spring of 1797. As summer approached, all hope of recovery vanished; but it was not thought that his life was in immediate danger. He returned to Beaconsfield at the end of May; and there he died on the 9th of July following, calmly and peacefully, with a blessing on his lips, and the last words of one of Addison's admirable essays on the immortality of the soul still lingering in his ears. On the 15th he was buried in Beaconsfield church, in the same grave in which had recently been laid the mortal remains of his brother and his son. The pall was borne by eight eminent noblemen and commoners, among whom were the Dukes of

Devonshire and Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, nephew and heir of the Marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Windham, and Lord Loughborough; and the funeral was attended by a large concourse of the neighboring gentry. Fox, with characteristic generosity, proposed that the body of his former friend and recent antagonist should be interred in that venerable abbey where moulder the perishable remains of so much of England's true grandeur; but the terms of Burke's will did not permit such an honor, and it was declined.

In considering the relations of Burke with his contemporaries, it is important to observe that, notwithstanding the admiration which many of his speeches excited, he was never a favorite speaker in the House of Commons. His indiscriminate eulogists, indeed, have often attempted to overrule the popular impression on this point. Yet it remains clear and indisputable that those magnificent orations, which received the plaudits of the most competent critics in his own day, and which stir the blood of every reader now with a livelier pulsation, were often delivered to empty benches or to unwilling and inattentive listeners. Goldsmith's famous distich was not a mere figment of the imagination; and Burke's speeches were often interrupted by the impatient movements and violent coughing of members. Nor was this interruption caused solely by the desire on the part of his hearers to secure good English dinners. Their disorderly conduct frequently showed that they had left the House for a less reputable purpose. Burke spoke with a marked brogue; his voice was always sharp and shrill, and in his more passionate appeals it became a scream. Undoubtedly the intemperance of his manner in speaking, and the too great frequency of his speeches, contributed to weaken his immediate influence over the House. But it is also obvious that his personal and party connections were not such as to give him great popularity and weight in the country. When he entered public life, he allied himself with the party of Lord Rockingham, perhaps the most aristocratic connection in English history. When the first Rockingham ministry was broken up a few months afterward, the party fell into a small minority; and through the whole course of the American war it was exceedingly unpopular both in Par-

liament and throughout the country. During Lord Rockingham's second ministry, Burke held a lucrative appointment, though he was not in the Cabinet; but upon the death of his noble patron he followed Mr. Fox into retirement, and soon afterward he advocated the famous coalition with Lord North. In the new ministry he again held a subordinate place, which he resigned on the dismissal of the ministers. From that time until his rupture with Mr. Fox he was in a minority which daily grew weaker and more unpopular. After this memorable breach Burke stood alone. He had separated from his old friends, and he had not cordially united with his old opponents. It is clear, therefore, that at no time was his position such as to give him much official weight, or any direct influence over the great body of his contemporaries. At no time was he personally popular, excepting at that comparatively brief period when he was engaged on the question of economical reform. Yet he took a very active part in devising and defending the plans adopted by his political friends. Fox himself acknowledged the weight of his obligations to Burke; and the influence which that great man frankly avowed had been of eminent value to him, was not wholly unfelt by others. It may, indeed, seem strange, that, when Burke's friends came into office, they never gave him any place in the Cabinet; but it must not be forgotten that he was regarded by many as a mere adventurer, — that he had neither birth, fortune, nor powerful family connections. The principal offices in the state were considered as in some measure belonging to the great families which had upheld the Revolution Settlement, and the chief places in the government were reserved for the scions of those houses. The great political philosopher, therefore, who had labored with such untiring zeal in defence of Whig principles, always gave precedence to the mere men of social position.

It is certain that Burke's reputation has steadily increased since his death; yet it is a noteworthy circumstance, that even now he is held in higher admiration in America than in England. Nor need we be surprised at this, since we stand in the relation of a more remote posterity to Burke than do the English people, and are free from the disturbing influences

which must necessarily be felt by English writers. In England family traditions have still sufficient vitality to color the popular impression of Burke and his contemporaries. It was natural that the immediate descendants of those who were brought into contact or collision with him should inherit the opinions of his own day. In many instances, as in the case of the late Lord Holland, the influence of these transmitted opinions has very largely affected contemporary judgments. Added to this, Burke was always a zealous partisan, and in attempting to measure his powers English writers have attached a chief importance to his opinions on party questions of comparatively temporary moment. Upon this side of the Atlantic we are not influenced by these personal and party considerations, and are, therefore, more attracted by the essential and immutable principles which he always connected with the discussion even of the most unimportant party questions. In other words, it is more easy and natural for American readers to regard Burke as a great political philosopher than as a partisan; and under these circumstances we are sometimes apt to consider him exclusively in the former capacity, forgetting that he united both characters. In the one character of a political philosopher he stands unrivalled among English statesmen. In the other, as a mere party leader, he was certainly inferior to many of his contemporaries.

The real value of Burke's writings does not consist in the soundness of his views on the particular questions discussed in them, nor in the general harmony and consistency of his opinions. Few English statesmen, indeed, are less entitled to the praise of consistency. His earlier and his later views are often directly antagonistic; and, as Lord Brougham has well observed, "It would, indeed, be difficult to select one leading principle or prevailing sentiment in Mr. Burke's latest writings, to which something extremely adverse may not be found in his former, we can hardly say his early, works; excepting only on the subject of Parliamentary reform." But whatever may be the immediate question before him, he always brings to its discussion a vast amount of information upon every collateral topic. We see at once that his arguments are drawn from a long and careful study of the abstract

principles of political science; and however doubtful or fallacious may be the particular application of these principles, their real importance cannot be questioned, nor has any statesman of modern times clothed his arguments in more brilliant language. In that rich and exuberant rhetoric which is everywhere colored by an imagination more lofty and impassioned than any other great statesman has ever possessed, familiar truths assume a new force and vitality, and even the most questionable views present themselves to the mind with a persuasive appeal which cannot be easily resisted. It is, we conceive, because all of Burke's political writings deal more or less directly with general principles, and are cast in a form suited to attract cultivated minds, that he must be regarded as superior to all other English statesmen. It is certain that the splendor of his imagination was an important element of his power; but it was also a cause of weakness, especially in his later years, when it was less under his control than it had been in the early part of his Parliamentary career. Both in regard to Warren Hastings and to the French Revolution his imagination seems to have usurped the place of his judgment, and he expressed opinions which can be traced only to the feverish workings of an ungoverned fancy. It was his course upon these questions which, more than anything else, justifies Lord Macaulay's assertion, that "he generally chose his side like a fanatic, and defended it like a philosopher."

In all the relations of private life Burke's conduct was irreproachable. His own writings and the testimony of his contemporaries bear witness to the warmth of his affections and the humanity of his sentiments. Indeed, the keenness of his sensibilities is scarcely less remarkable than the strength of his intellect and the gorgeousness of his fancy. From the fashionable vices of his age he was singularly free, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to most of his distinguished contemporaries. Though he was fond of wine, he never drank enough to be affected by it; and he does not seem ever to have frequented the gaming-table. Burke, however, was a poor man with expensive tastes; and there is reason to believe that all of his pecuniary transactions would not bear a very close scrutiny. The late Lord Holland used to say that

he was always a jobber; but this assertion was doubtless prompted by personal ill-will, and it must be taken with large allowance. Still, it is clear that Burke's hands were not entirely free from stains, and that the suspicions which attach to his pecuniary dealings are not wholly unfounded. It would be a gross perversion of language to say that he was ever bribed; but his relations with Lord Rockingham were certainly not those which should exist between statesmen. Nor are the circumstances attending the purchase of Beaconsfield so easily explained as some of his eulogists have contended.

ART. IV. — *Writings of* THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1854 – 59. 21 vols.

THOMAS DE QUINCEY is a man of mark and power, who has silently grown, out of the costly toil of nearly half a century of culture and literary achievement, to his present high rank and intellectual proportions. As a thinker and a scholar he has few living equals; as a literary artist he is without a rival. He has traversed with more or less profundity of insight and research the grandest provinces in the empire of human speculation; and his familiarity with metaphysics, and the subtile distinctions involved in them, is so close and intimate, and his expositions are so elaborate and lucid, as almost to produce the impression that we are holding converse with a mind contemporary with the aboriginal secrets of nature.

This remarkable man was born at Greenhay, then a suburb of Manchester, although now densely populated, and absorbed, indeed, into the arterial life of that city. His father was a merchant of high standing, exclusively engaged in foreign commerce, and possessed of a considerable fortune. He died when De Quincey was seven years old, leaving him and his five brothers and sisters to the care of four guardians, with an income of £ 1,600 a year. His mother was one of those high-born dames who belong of right to the olden time

of England, and are now very rarely to be met with even in the best society of that country. Her manners were courtly, and she stood firmly by her rank; holding no intercourse with the menials of her house, save through a goodly matron who had the general charge of its economy. She was, in the legitimate sense of the word, an "intellectual" as well as a pious woman, and had the highest sense of honor and propriety in all things. De Quincey speaks of her in terms both of reverence and of affection, and remembers her counsels and admonitions in long-after years, when she is in the grave, and he fighting in an "Iliad of woes."

Notwithstanding the means at her command, she conducted her house with a wise prudence and watchfulness of expense; although she amply provided for the elegant enjoyment, culture, health, and happiness of her children. She trained them to a Spartan simplicity of diet, and they fared very much less sumptuously than the servants. "And if," adds De Quincey, —"if (after the model of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius) I should return thanks to Providence for all the separate blessings of my early situation, these four I would single out as worthy of special commemoration; — that I lived in a rustic solitude; that this solitude was in England; that my infant feelings were moulded by the gentlest of sisters, and not by horrid, pugilistic brothers; finally, that I and they were dutiful and loving members of a pure, holy, and magnificent church."

The solitude in which his childhood was passed very powerfully affected his subsequent life, deepening the naturally solemn tone of his mind, and coloring his entire character. He marks, indeed, all the events which occurred to him at this early period in such emphatic and startling outline and detail, that they assume dramatic proportions, and, taken in connection with his after years, stand there like portentous heralds, ushering a dire tragedy upon the stage. They recur in all his experience, and are alternately accessories and principals, amid the awful scenery of his dreams; the key, in fact, which alone unlocks the portals of his opium creation, and renders its apocalypse intelligible. He was precocious and premature, and seems to have known no childhood. The eye of consciousness was always open and

full-orbed within him; and thoughts, too big for entertainment, although not for transient visitation, haunted his mind continually, and shook him with unspeakable trepidations. Solitude was not good for him, nor yet the exclusive companionship of his sisters, notwithstanding his proclaimed gratitude for these privileges. He relates circumstances in connection with the death of his two eldest sisters which, however incredible they may be to persons of common experience, as trespassing upon the very boundaries of the supernatural, are yet deeply interesting as illustrations of the natively morbid constitution of his mind; for we maintain that his tendencies to opium had an organic origin, as these narratives duly pondered may sufficiently prove.

When he was about one year and a half old his sister Jane, aged three and a half, died; and the event to him was not, he says, so much sorrowful, as unintelligible. He had no idea, could form no conception, of death in its essential mystery and calamity. Little Jane had disappeared, but how, or wherefore, he knew not. "I was sad for her absence; but still in my heart I trusted that she would come again. Summer and winter came again, — crocuses and roses; why not little Jane?"

The feeling with which he thus associated the return of crocuses and roses with the possible return of his sister, will, in one of such tender years, scarcely admit of philosophical explanation, unless, indeed, we refer it to intuition as its source. The idea which underlies this floral analogy appertains to the profoundest mysteries of man's nature, — to resurrection and immortality, — and could not consciously, therefore, without some preternatural and unheard-of gift of insight, belong to the mind of an infant. That the return of the flowers, however, was, in a symbolic sense, associated in his mind with the reappearance of his sister, he is fully persuaded. But this is not all. Jane, during her illness, had been intrusted to the care of a nurse who was impatient of the child's complainings, and treated the little thing with unnecessary, if not cruel harshness. The rumor of this treatment spread naturally through the house, causing much talk among the servants, and thus reaching the ears of

De Quincey, who pondered it in his heart, brooding over it night and day, as something awful, and altogether foreign to his own nature and conceptions. He had known nothing up to this time but the pure delights, the love and the beauty of childhood, and could have no suspicion of the taints of sin in that holy atmosphere which surrounded him. But now, and gradually, the dim consciousness that he "was in a world of evil and strife" painfully oppressed him; and he dates that "passion of sorrows" which consumed the subsequent period of his childhood from this revelation.

Strange and inexplicable as all this may probably appear to the reader, De Quincey not only believes it, but upon it — and the other and more important experience into which this minor one runs, carrying with it the full inflection of its feeling — he builds, as we have stated, the entire system and machinery of his visions.

The supplementary experience alluded to was derived from another mournful spectacle of mortality. His eldest surviving sister, Elizabeth, a girl of marvellous intellect, whom he loved with all the affection of his sensitive and confiding nature, died after a brief illness, from disease of the brain, when he was about six years old. She had been all in all to him, and his love for her amounted to an almost religious idolatry. Her death, therefore, affected him with emotions of grief and anguish corresponding to the depth and measure of his love. He felt what it was to be alone; for his soul was desolate, and his young life was suddenly hung with funeral gloom. And now mark what follows; for it is in every way important to the proper understanding of his development and career, as well as intensely interesting in itself, in a purely psychological aspect. The day after his sister's death, he resolved, in his intensely excited state, to visit her corpse, and with this purpose he stole unperceived into the silent chamber where it lay. The window was "wide open, through which the sun of midsummer, at midday, was showering down torrents of splendor. The weather was dry, the sky was cloudless, the blue depths seemed the express types of infinity; and it was not possible for eye to behold, or for heart to conceive, any symbols more pathetic of life and the glory of life." From the

gorgeous sunlight he turned to the corpse, and gazed long upon the frozen eyelids, "the marble lips, the stiffening hands, laid palm to palm, as if repeating the supplications of closing anguish." And as he gazed, "a solemn wind began to blow — the saddest that ear ever heard. *It was a wind that might have swept the fields of mortality for a thousand centuries*"; whose "hollow, sad, Memnonian, but saintly swell," he calls "the one great *audible* symbol of eternity"! Then, in his own words, "a trance fell upon me. A vault seemed to open in the zenith of the far blue sky, a shaft which ran up for ever. Frost gathering frost, some Sarsar wind of death seemed to repel me; some mighty relation between God and death dimly struggled to evolve itself from the dreadful antagonism between them. I slept — for how long I cannot say: slowly I recovered my self-possession; and, when I woke, found myself *standing*, as before, close to my sister's bed." This strange apparition, amidst the solemnities of death on the one hand, and the beauties of summer on the other, conjured up by the breathings of that mighty wind, is in itself — considered as a psychological manifestation produced under the pressure of profound grief and intense imaginative excitement — quite as wonderful, startling, and suggestive, as anything to be found in the "Confessions of an Opium-Eater."

The presence of great and exciting circumstances, however, although in the instance alluded to they were doubtless the immediate causes of the vision, was not at all essential as operative or condition, in the ordinary dreamings of De Quincey's childhood. His mind seems to have been in a state always bordering on ecstasy, — especially after the death of his sister; and "trailing clouds of glory" attended his outgoings and incomings, like some surpassing heavenly pageant. He loved solitude and silence. "The awful stillness oftentimes of summer noons, when no winds were abroad, the appealing silence of gray or misty afternoons,— these were fascinations as of witchcraft. Into the woods, into the desert air I gazed," he says, "as if some comfort lay hid in *them*. Obstinately I tormented the blue depths with my scrutiny, sweeping them for ever with my eyes, and searching them for one angelic face that might, perhaps, have

permission to reveal itself for a moment." His deep grief consumed him as with Promethean fire. The natural, beautiful, and most mysterious intuitions of childhood, which give glory and supersensuous meaning to the grass and the flowers, to clouds and sunlight, to solitude and the song of birds, were very vital and vivid to De Quincey, and, aided by his imagination and the dream-faculty, enabled him to live in the splendor, if also in the sorrow, of more than mortal experience. Sorrow is distinguished from grief by its submission and repose. Grief in her has been transfigured by faith and love; and hence her divinity, and silent, irresistible power. De Quincey had not yet, at least, known sorrow in this sense; his was "rapacious grief, that grasped at what it could not obtain." And yet under its influence "the faculty of shaping images in the distance out of slight elements, and grouping them after the yearnings of his heart," grew upon him in morbid excess. He gives in the "Suspiria" a magnificent picture of this faculty, whose more than Titian splendor of outline and coloring would vanish by mutilation, and it is too long to quote entire. The subject is his Sunday morning dreams while in an old English church, "having aisles, galleries, organ, all things ancient and venerable, and the proportions majestic."

It is remarkable that these scenes, and the drama of his childhood, are continually recurring in his after life and his writings; and he gives us affecting proofs of their abiding power in his "Autobiographical Sketches."

As soon as he was old enough he was sent to school, passing from one school to another, with very little discretion as to the choice on the part of his guardians. He made most proficiency, however, at the Bath Grammar School, where he had the advantage of an Etonian master, under whose instruction he achieved a rapid progress, especially in Greek, which he wrote at thirteen with ease, and spoke at fifteen as fluently as his mother tongue. Alluding to this remarkable acquirement, his master once said to a person with whom he was conversing, "That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you or I an English one." He had a natural gift for this language, and he obtained his mastery over it—

so far as knowledge of words and their structure is concerned, although not in the high sense of criticism — by extensive reading of Greek writers, by compositions, and the daily translation of English books and newspapers into the Attic tongue. The last public school to which he was sent was the Grammar School at Manchester, then presided over by a "clumsy and inelegant," though a respectable scholar. He could teach De Quincey nothing, however; and being now seventeen years of age, and having long and unavailingly desired his guardians, who had quarrelled with him, — or with whom he had quarrelled, — to allow him sufficient funds to support him at college, he resolved that at all events he would be a schoolboy no longer; that he would work his way to London, in short, and try the doubtful, and even, when successful, ruinous experiment of borrowing money for his college expenses of the Jews. During one of his vacations he had been invited by Lord Westport, then a young man about his own age, to spend a few weeks with him in Ireland; during the visit he made what might be called an intimate acquaintance with Lady Carbery, — a name familiar to all readers of Jeremy Taylor; and to her he now applied for the loan of five pounds, without telling her for what purpose the money was wanted. A few posts brought him an answer, and an enclosure of ten pounds, and with this sum he ventured to abscond, and cast himself adrift upon the world, bending his steps towards North Wales. He wandered through various parts of the Principality, — meeting with some curious adventures by the way, — until his resources were nearly exhausted. He suffered much from hunger and exposure, often sleeping out of doors at night, until he finally found himself in London, penniless and alone.

Here he became acquainted with a lawyer who was a sort of jackal to the Jews, to whom, although he received no pecuniary relief from him, or through him, he was nevertheless indebted for shelter, and an occasional crust, which, if it were not given to him, he did not scruple to take from the lawyer's breakfast-table, as the occasion served. The shelter afforded to him was that of a large house, uninhabited except by one poor, lonely, and friendless child, — a little girl about ten

years old. She was also hunger-bitten, as well as ragged and desolate; for her master — if he were not her father, as he probably was — utterly neglected her, never sleeping in the house, and, indeed, often changing his lodging for purposes bes known to himself, and very scantily providing her with food and clothing. Great was her joy when she found she was to have a companion to make the loneliness of that empty house less fearfully dreary. For superadded to her great and touching physical misery was the appalling fear of ghosts, which in the silence of the night — broken only by the unearthly noise of rats in their infernal revels — haunted the mind of the poor, weak child with perpetual and inconceivable terror. And so at night they lay down together, their pillow "a bundle of cursed law papers," their covering a "large horseman's cloak," or fragment of a worn-out rug. He speaks of the tumultuousness of his dreams at this time as scarcely less awful than his subsequent opium dreams. He was attacked also by a "twitching" sensation in the region of the stomach, which was horrible to bear; and the result was utter prostration both of mind and body. In this mysterious house De Quincey spent the nights of many weeks; he a "famishing scholar," with no other companion save a neglected child, whom "I loved," he says, "because she was the partner of my wretchedness." His days were passed, for the most part, in the parks and street-wildernesses of the mighty city.

Misery touches springs in the human heart which open infinite depths of sympathy, and reveal to us how mighty and far-reaching and wide-circling are the roots of our common nature. For man, wherever and under what circumstances soever he may be placed, is still man; and the highest and the lowest are bound together by the common ties of blood and primordial ancestry, by the traditions and history of the common race, and by the spiritualities and profundities of the common human nature. And even in cases of sad profligacy and crime, purity herself has no right to withhold the words of love and consolation, and the promises which God himself has vouchsafed to the repentant sinner. We will not hesitate, therefore, to unfold one more scene in the revelation of De Quincey's waking visions and experience of London misery.

although it is not one of which we should voluntarily have chosen to speak. It is, indeed, all-important, in its issues, to De Quincey's history; for in the absence of the chief actor in this scene he would have had no subsequent history at all, but would have perished upon the stage.

In his street wanderings he had become acquainted — not with any impure purpose, but by accident — with an unfortunate girl, known to him only by her Christian name of Ann. She was not more than sixteen years old, and pacing with her up and down Oxford Street, he learned her story. She had been cruelly treated, and robbed of her little property by a villain who seduced her, and then turned her out of doors. De Quincey was to have gone with her, and spoken for her to a magistrate, and this was arranged between them, but destined never to take place. In the mean while, the following touching scene occurred, which will show how fearfully hunger, and its accompanying symptoms and consequences, had seized upon his constitution, and how all this was silently preparing the way for the advent and mission of opium to him and his experience. We quote De Quincey's words: —

"One night, when we were pacing slowly along Oxford Street, and after a day when I had felt unusually ill and faint, I requested her to turn off with me into Soho Square. Thither we went; and we sat down on the steps of a house, which, to this hour, I never pass without a pang of grief, and an inner act of homage to the spirit of that unhappy girl, in memory of the noble act which she there performed. Suddenly, as we sat, I grew much worse. I had been leaning my head against her bosom, and all at once I sank from her arms and fell backwards on the steps. From the sensations I then had, I felt an inner conviction of the liveliest kind, that without some powerful and reviving stimulus I should either have died on the spot, or should at least have sunk to a point of exhaustion from which all re-ascent, under my friendless circumstances, would soon have become hopeless. Then it was, at this crisis of my fate, that my poor orphan companion, who had herself met with little but injuries in this world, stretched out a saving hand to me. Uttering a cry of terror, but without a moment's delay, she ran off into Oxford Street, and in less time than could be imagined returned to me with a glass of port-wine and spices, that acted upon my empty stomach (which at that time would have rejected all solid food) with an instantaneous power of restoration; and for this glass the

generous girl, without a murmur, paid out of her own humble purse, at a time, be it remembered, when she had scarcely wherewithal to purchase the bare necessaries of life, and when she could have no reason to expect that I should ever be able to reimburse her."

It is moving to see, as in this instance, how the human heart, great in its lowest condition and circumstances, great to the last, vibrates at the touch of misery to the old melody in which it was originally tuned by God, — the melody of heaven's own tenderness and love, whose mighty breathings sustain the burdens of humanity and are the very pulses of its life. And this is especially the case in woman, whose nature, being more finely set and harmoniously adjusted than that of man, is, on this account, more sensitive to impression, and more beautiful and touching in its passionate responses, its marvellous heights and depths of affection. God has mercifully ordained that sin itself shall not be omnipotent in its malevolence; but that earthly glories, bursting even from the ruins of the human heart, shall have power to mitigate its austerity, and to illuminate its baleful darkness; — not to speak of that mightier and supernatural glory, which, as through a shaft sunk from heaven to earth, and to its lowest abysses of pollution, streams for ever, in sublime symbolism, from the blood and passion, the agony and the triumphs of Calvary. Otherwise, sad indeed would be the lot of man upon this earth. Sad it is, at the best; but hopeless it is not.

Shortly after the scene in Soho Square, above described, De Quincey chanced to meet a gentleman of the King's Household who had known his father, and had received hospitalities at various times from his family. He challenged him on the strength of his family likeness; and De Quincey confessed all to him, on condition that he should not betray him to his guardians. The next morning he received a ten-pound note from this gentleman, and with the money he resolved to go to Eton, and try to interest some of his patrician friends there to aid him in getting to the University. After fruitless applications to these noble persons, and also to more ignoble Jews, he is finally reconciled to his guardians, and commences his University career. Those who desire to know the history of his intermediate adventures, and how he parted from Ann,

and lost her for ever in the chaos and darkness of London, may find them written in the "Confessions," and Ann's story, at least, a tragedy of tears.

Taking into consideration his original nature, the precocity of his childhood, his indigenous dream faculty, and the wondrous waking visions which haunted his nursery days, — his extreme Æolian sensibility to natural objects, — to love also, and pity, and the passion of sorrow, — a sensibility which is the very aroma of feeling, and which coarser and more healthy minds cannot so much as imagine, — considering all these things, we perceive at once his predisposition to opium-excitement. Living as he did in a world of emotions and imagery far removed from actual life, it was no wonder that, when he came into contact with life, his mind should shrink from its savage and terrible reality, as from something unholy. When, therefore, he found that through the instrumentality of opium he could not only indulge in his Oriental dreams at pleasure, but multiply them in extent, number, and voluptuousness, he readily fell into its lures.

His "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," in which he describes the effect of this drug upon his mind, burst upon the world like a new Apocalypse; and such indeed it essentially was. For no one before him had ventured to proclaim his experience of this power; and few were ever gifted with such faculties of analysis and description as he possesses, even had they been inclined to be thus venturesome. Amid the darkest and most shadowy regions of his imagination, however, before whose dread and solemn pageantry the heart of man shrinks appalled, as if it were orphaned and alone in some universe of woe abandoned by God, he walks with philosophic calmness. He is familiar with the colossal scenery of the spiritual world; looks down with clear and steady eye into bottomless starry gulfs; and walks unscathed amid solar systems and burning planets, trampling, under arching galaxies, the aisles of measureless space, surrounded by all the vast, unbuilt magnificence, the cathedral pomp of the universe. It is his privilege to wander thus, the Alone with the Alone, and hold therewith his awful and unspeakable communions; — his privilege, and also his punishment; — a sublime punishment, which

words cannot picture, under the immensity of whose grandeur even an archangel might stagger; and which he can support only by the agency of that dreadful magician whom he apostrophizes as "just, subtile, and mighty," to give and to sustain. That magician, as we have before seen, is Opium; and herein lies the secret of his preternatural power, the splendor of his visions, his divine ecstasies, his satanic agonies. He has bartered the normal condition of his great and marvellous faculties, the natural health and vigor of his mind and body, for an abnormal, clairvoyant state, in which the soul magnifies the phenomena of nature, and incorporates them with its own feelings and images, until the universe becomes one mighty consciousness of inconceivable rapture and pure intellectual blessedness, or of the most appalling gloom, horror, and despair. All his experiences are sublime and vast; attended in their history and progress by unearthly accessories, by beings of an unknown creation, of an undistinguishable sex;—now sweeping through cloud-lands of fire and splendor, and anon through regions of tumultuous, unimaginable darkness.

Words, indeed, are altogether inadequate to paint the scenery and companions of this mighty dreamer's march through the regions of the imagination. He, himself, with all his opulence of language, and power of description and coloring, does little more than to suggest the fiery outline, leaving the reader to fill up and frame the interior picture as he best may. Never before, however, were such bold and vivid limnings of gorgeous visions traced by pen or pencil; and the wonder of the performance is expanded and deepened by the profound spirituality with which he invests them. They are but shadows projected by the soul, which thus seeks to give expression to its surging aspirations, and to absorb time, space, the universe, and God in its own immense existence.

In a purely psychological sense, how intensely interesting are these preternatural, fire-wrought experiences, and what new, strange, and startling speculations do they suggest! Here is a man who possesses the secret by which he can and does live in a state of unutterable splendor and glory, both of intellect and feeling, alternating with unutterable gloom and terror: this last, however, not the necessary product of any

forces of the mind reacting from a previous beatific condition, but resulting from causes over which the agent has, in the first instance at least, an absolute control; inasmuch as they spring only from an excessive abuse of the enchanted drug, and need not constitute the staple, therefore, of the opium-eater's dreams, or form any part of the phantasms of his visions. So at least we gather from the "Confessions"; for De Quincey says that for ten years he "lived on earth the life of a Demiurgus, and kept the keys of Paradise."

One dread epoch, however, there seems to be in opium experience, as the result of its long-continued use and excessive abuse, — and that is the termination of all splendid scenes and visions, and the commencement of an eternity of gloom and cryptic horror; peopled by dreadful human faces, shadowy, pursuing hands, and fiendish forms of Miltonic bulk, longitude, and deformity.

In the atmosphere of opium, and with this full, final, and fatal experience of its operations, De Quincey's life has been passed. His writings are everywhere stained with its colors, and flame with its illuminations. Nor does he regret his acquaintance with it, but rejoices over it rather, as a new inlet of power, and an introduction for him to occult scenes and knowledge, hidden to merely mortal eyes behind the veils of the universe. He mourns, it is true, over his *abuse* of its bounteous gifts, but he lays no guilt at the threshold of that dark abode which it inhabits. Nor does he impugn its veracity or integrity, or pretend that he has been cheated by any false promises which it held out to him. What it professed it performed, under the sole condition that he should use it for love, and not for lust. If he violated this condition, he must accept the penalty; and accordingly he is just to its character, by proclaiming that the accumulated agonies of his later mental and physical existence were but the result of his own voluntary transgression. This, however, if true, which we vehemently doubt, is but an individual experience, and an exception to the known dealings of opium with the human mind. It is commonly a cheat and a liar; mocking misery with a brief delusion, and crime with a brief oblivion, as if the prince of darkness himself had brought the

accursed drug to man in order to disturb by its subtile working the harmony and economy of God's government of the world. For even while it heightens the moral perceptions, and augments, as in De Quincey's case, the grandeur and intensity of the moral aspirations and of the intellect, it paralyzes the will, and makes the living man a powerless corpse.

It was in the year 1804, during one of his University vacations, that, being distracted with toothache, he first took opium as a palliative. The scene of this irreversible step was a druggist's shop in London; and he relates all the circumstances with the minuteness of a Pre-Raphaelite, throwing over them also the air and the coloring of a profound mystery, unwilling, as he says, to connect any mortal remembrances with the hour, place, and creature that first brought him acquainted with the celestial drug. And under its influence he sought for pleasures of a purely æsthetic and intellectual nature. Grassini sang at the opera in those days, and thither De Quincey went, feasting his soul with melody such as Mahomet never dreamed of in the atmosphere of his enchanted paradise, — melody which built up for him palaces of inconceivable splendor, and surrounded him with a new creation of feeling, intellect, and imagination. He mixed also on Saturday nights with the poor, lingered in pure sympathy over their marketings, and heard all their disappointments, hopes, and rejoicings, in the same spirit of unalloyed human love. Or he wandered for hours and miles, absorbed in contemplation, through the thoroughfares and Sphinxine labyrinths of London.

It was in solitude, however, that he sought and obtained his most serene and elaborate pleasures. Often he has sat for hours in delicious reveries; and "more than once," he says, "it has happened to me, on a summer night, when I have been at an open window, in a room from which I could overlook the sea at a mile below me, that I have sat from sunset to sunrise, motionless, and without wishing to move."

In 1812 De Quincey is living at Grasmere, in the companionship of Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge, and has become acquainted with Professor Wilson. Here, in his

pretty cottage, — once occupied by Wordsworth, — with the lake at his feet and the mountain heights and woods behind and around him, he studies, in his library, consisting of some five thousand volumes, the metaphysics of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling; or he revels in the dream phantasies and imaginative wildernesses of Jean Paul. We see, indeed, in all his serious writings, how deeply he has been affected by German thinking and literature; although he never for a moment drops his own individuality, or bows his regal intellect before the kings of these mighty revelations. He is their peer and equal. And at this period he has no conception, he says, of the avenging terrors which opium has in store for those who abuse its leniency. Hitherto, he has been a dilettante opium-eater, of eight years' practice certainly, but always allowing time for the system to recover, partially at least, from one debauch before he commenced another. He has taken opium like a man of science and an artist; but in the middle of 1813 he is attacked by that horrible gnawing of the stomach, which flung him into such sleeping and waking agonies in the great, lone house in London, before he had tampered with opium at all. This sensation, originally induced by extreme hunger, now returns to him, and will yield to nothing but opium constantly exhibited.

From this time laudanum entered regularly into the articles of his daily consumption, and was consumed by him, for the next three years at least, at the rate of eight thousand drops per day. Suddenly, about the year 1816, he descended from this enormous quantity to one thousand drops per day. Twice he broke loose from the thraldom altogether; and the struggle which he made to effect this is one of the most heroic in its progress and triumph to be found in the records of human agony. Again, however, he tumbles into the abyss, and arrives at last at an "Iliad of woes." At night, as he lay in bed, vast processions moved along in mournful pomp; friezes of never-ending stories that to his feelings were as sad and solemn as if they were stories drawn from times before Œdipus or Priam, — before Tyre, before Memphis. He descended nightly into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that he should

ever reascend. Nor did he by waking feel that he had reascended. Buildings and landscapes were exhibited in proportions more vast than the bodily eye is fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. All the incidents of his childhood and entire life were ever recurring to him. His life had many lives, and he was familiar with death, and eternity, and all the dreadful retributions of God.

Such, in imperfect outline, is the story of De Quincey's opium experience. He now lives in a village about twelve miles from Edinburgh, and makes occasional additions to the numerous volumes which his collected Works at present comprise. That he should have effected so much under the pressure of such mental horrors as we have described, and the disadvantages of pain, suffering, and that lethargy, and often utter impotence, of volition and action which opium induces, is little short of miraculous. This lethargy, however, alternates with periods of great activity, and De Quincey seems to have taken advantage of them. There is no sign of decay visible in any of his later productions, which is also marvellous. He is as vigorous as ever.

We have no space left to enter upon a critical examination of his writings with a view of ascertaining his body of thought and opinion, and assigning to him his true historical position. This is, however, a work to be done; although the fragmentary character of his compositions, scattered over so wide a field of inquiry, will render the task somewhat difficult. He has no great work to which we can point as his *Opus*, and by which he can be judged. He lies, broad and vast through these volumes, *disjecta membra* of colossal proportions, which require to be gathered up, as we said, and put into human fashion. But no living man has written, on so many questions, so much and so well. He knows many things, and all of them thoroughly, so that he has always a wise word to speak concerning them. He is a mathematician as well as a metaphysician; he is not only a philologist, but equally an accomplished and profound logician. He delights in the higher geometry, and loves to face those abstract truths upon which Nature rests, with all her forces,

creatures, powers, and empires. He has studied with a critical eye the philosophy of Plato and Kant; of Aristotle and Bacon; and he is a master in the science of political economy. Long before Ricardo had published his "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation," — that is to say, earlier than the year 1811, Ricardo publishing in 1817, — De Quincey was in that field. And it is singular, as evincing the nature and elasticity of his mind, that he took to the study of political economy as an *amusement*, at a time when his intellect was weakened and broken by his opium excesses. He read all the books and miscellaneous writings on the subject which nearly two centuries had produced, in hope of finding some ray of light to illuminate the dark foundations of that science. But he found authors, and pamphleteers, and parliamentary debaters, alike ignorant of its first principles, — their productions "the very dregs and rinsings of the human intellect," — and he turned from them in disgust. At last Ricardo's book appeared, and before he had finished the first chapter, "I said," he writes, "'Thou art the man!'" He saw at once the worthy claims of this new candidate for honors, who "had deduced, *à priori*, from the understanding itself, laws which first gave a ray of light into the unwieldy chaos of materials, and had constructed what had been but a collection of tentative discussions into a science of regular proportions, now first standing on an eternal basis."

This book made an epoch in De Quincey's mind, and he gave an exposition of its principles in a paper called "The Templar's Dialogues," which is one of the finest pieces of reasoning in the language. "He who has fully mastered the doctrine of Value, is already a good political economist." These are his words, and this doctrine is the subject of his elucidation. Arid as the subject is, he has made it interesting, and even attractive, by his genius and matchless colloquial power. He turns from it with perfect ease to descant on "The Theory of the Greek Drama," "On the Poets of England," and "On Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts," or he asserts his manliness and hatred of cant, somewhat preposterously, indeed, by a philosophical apology for war.

Indeed, on whatever platform he appears, he always makes

some original and genuine contribution to the discussion. As an historian he has given hints of unrivalled powers, and it is much to be regretted that he has not devoted himself to some great section of ancient or modern history. He infuses the breath of life into his characters; and the scenery which surrounds them glows with natural beauty, is atmospheric, and sunny with the golden light of day. His "Revolt of the Tartars" leaves nothing to be desired as a dramatic representation of a great and affecting historical event. It is instinct with life, and the portraiture of fierce passions, agonies, and tragic results. Nor can anything be finer than his imperatorial history of "The Cæsars," in the course of which there are many indications of neglected difficulties, which ought not, as he elsewhere says, to have been left unremoved to any one in the nineteenth century.

He excels also as a biographer, and is perhaps, from his long study of and intimate acquaintance with the subject, the only living man who could write a life of Milton. His papers on classical subjects, "The Sphinx's Riddle," for example, are not only learned and philosophical, but they often elucidate the hidden meaning of the symbolism of mythology from a deeper insight than any other writer, with whom we are acquainted, has attained. This is, perhaps, natural to him; for his genius is cryptic, and instinctively reads the ciphers and hieroglyphs of dark and mythic things. Whatever possesses mysterious and sublime features and lineaments is also peculiarly attractive to him. His creative faculty is so active and suggestive of phenomena, that he fills up the most shadowy outlines of such mysteries with the form and pressure of bodily reality. His paper "On the Revelations of Lord Rosse's Telescope" is a case in point. The nebulæ of Orion, discovered at last in those fearful distances which separate them from the solar system and all mental conception, assume in his eyes the shape of an apparition, abominable and utterly revolting. His mind is populous with this kind of creation; and also with that of beauty. Witness his "Dream Fugues," suggested no doubt by Jean Paul's essays at Dream Creation, and other analects from his writings, but far superior to them as to art, in the superb chastity and beauty of their finish. Richter, indeed, loses

the dream character of his effusions in the elaborate details with which he crowds them; while De Quincey in this most difficult of all the forms of composition, rendered so from its floating subjectivity, never fails in his effect, because he seizes upon the great features of the drama, and centres all the interest of evolution upon them. Jean Paul and De Quincey divide between them the kingdom of our dream literature.

As a moralist De Quincey takes his stand upon Christianity, and his whole system of belief is built upon it. He is a sincere Christian believer, without compromise or reserve. To what extent he is orthodox by any ecclesiastical standard we do not certainly know. But he everywhere extols the Christian religion, is jealous for its character and sanctity, dreading to be classed with unbelievers, and going painfully out of his way sometimes to defend himself from imputations of that kind, as in his long note to the Lord Rosse paper. In his tract on the "Essenes," he evinces his zeal for Christianity by attempting to prove that the Essenes were Christians under another name, and not an earlier or a distinct sect; for he sees that Christianity *before* Christ means also Christianity *without* Christ; and in his own words, "If, therefore, Essenism could make good its pretensions, there at one blow would be an end of Christianity, which in that case is not only superseded, as an idle repetition of a religious system already published, but also as a criminal plagiarism." Hence De Quincey to the rescue! not this time, we think, with satisfactory issue, although with bravest knighthood.

We should scarcely be pardoned by those who know and love De Quincey, if we neglected to note here the fine vein of humor which runs through his writings. For, strange as it may appear to those who know him only by his Opium Confessions, and the majority of readers are shut down in their knowledge of him within these limits, he is essentially a humorist, and cannot restrain himself. Humor is in him, and must out. It pervades all his essays, intruding occasionally even into the sacred precincts of sorrow and tragic catastrophe, where clearly it can have no functional rights, and must therefore be a fatal and unpardonable mistake of judgment; but otherwise manifesting itself in a legitimate and endless

variety of forms, now gay and lively, now caustic and severe, now bursting out in multitudinous ringing laughter.

In person he is anything but prepossessing; being diminutive in stature and awkward in his movements, with a shrivelled, yellow, parchment skin. His head, however, is superb, and his face remarkably sensitive and expressive; the eyes sunken, but brilliant with the fire of genius and the illuminations of opium. In manners he is a mode of decorum, urbanity, and natural, unaffected gentility. He is a magnificent talker, and a fine reader, — which last quality he notes as a rare accomplishment, whether among men or women. He is genial and hospitable in his household. He performs set tasks of walking, day by day, in his garden, and marks his progress by deposits of stones. He has offered his body, after death, to the surgeons, for dissection, as his contribution to physiological science. He seriously believes that the dreadful gnawing of the stomach already alluded to, which arises perhaps from the collapse and impotency of that organ through the use of opium, is caused by the ravages of a living animal. He is singular in his habits, often disappears from his home for days together, — no inquiry being made after him by his friends, — and returns as mysteriously as he went. He has two daughters, one of whom is married to an officer in the Indian army; the other and eldest presides over the house, and acts as his amanuensis.

Art. V. — 1. *Abelard.* Par Charles de Rémusat. Vols. I., II. Paris: Librairie Philosophique de Ladrange. 1845. 8vo. pp. 509, 563.

2. *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographie, durch* Friedrich Böhringer. 2ter Band, 2te Abtheilung. Zurich: Verlag von Meyer und Zeller. 1854. 8vo. pp. 662.

The second of the above-named works may be dismissed with the general remark, that the volume is in every respect worthy of the series to which it belongs. Beside the biogra-

phy of Abelard and Heloise, it contains Lives of St. Francis, Pope Innocent III., and that singular saint, Elizabeth of Hungary. The style and the method of Böhringer cannot be too highly commended, and his candor is so impartial, that we have not yet found from his works to what church he belongs, or what are his religious opinions.

His account of the French philosopher, however, is only a condensed translation of the great work of Rémusat, from which all his facts and most of his opinions are drawn. The source is excellent. When a writer like Rémusat gives the results of a biographical study, there will be little left of value for any new explorer in the field. To minuteness of research, to breadth of view, to a masterly power of grouping facts and conceiving scenes, he joins a diction at once masculine and musical. No writer handles more easily, more lovingly, or more intelligently the hard subtilties of the scholastic philosophy. No man can more delight in threading the mazes of mediæval disputes, and reducing to shape and comeliness their tangled web. It is Charles de Rémusat who has best made known to France the convent life and political disputes of England in the eleventh century, the scholastic life of the Continent in the twelfth century, and the later philosophies of Germany, from Kant to Hegel; while another of the name, Abel de Rémusat, has gathered up the fragments of Indian philosophy. Among French *savans* the name of Rémusat deserves honor equal to that of St. Hilaire, and second only to that of Cousin.

We shall not attempt to indicate the manifold and differing authorities which M. Rémusat was compelled, in preparing his work, to examine, understand, compare, and harmonize. No subject of biography has been written about more frequently, more learnedly, more obscurely, and more absurdly. Folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos, and diamond pocket editions, in bad Latin, indifferent French, antiquated English, and, worst of all, genuine philosophic German, warned the enthusiast to pause at the threshold of his task. The treasures of the Parisian libraries terrify, while they aid; and stout nerves are needed to undertake a work of which the materials are so complex and redundant. To separate myth from fact in

the biography was not easy; but this was a light and pleasant task compared with that of reducing to system the philosophy, the theology, and the ethics of the great scholastic teacher. The second task has, nevertheless, been as successfully accomplished as the first.

M. Rémusat divides his work into three books. The first treats of the life of Abelard, and tells all that is certainly known concerning him, his fortunes, his controversies, his labors, and his love. The second, in ten chapters, treats of his philosophy, dialectics, psychology, and metaphysics. The first of these chapters is a remarkable summary of the history of scholasticism previously to the twelfth century, and the second is an equally remarkable statement of the great scholastic question as Abelard found it. The influence of Aristotle is ingeniously traced, and the reasons for the triumph of nominalism are fully set forth. The third division of the work, which is the longest, ablest, and most striking in the display of copious erudition, treats of the doctrine of Abelard in theology and morals, with a criticism of some of his miscellaneous writings. To give even a synopsis of the scientific part of M. Rémusat's work would require more space than we have at command. We prefer to spare our readers, and to confine ourselves to the more entertaining portion contained in the first book. It were presumptuous for any but a skilled metaphysician to criticise or mutilate what must be fully read to be well comprehended.

In the cemetery of Paris, which bears the name of Père la Chaise, at the right of the small gate on the Rue St. André, and close to the narrow strip of earth where the graves of Jews are crowded together, is the monument which every visitor first seeks and longest remembers, — that of Heloise and Abelard. The dingy, florid canopy, pinnacled and crocketed, which covers it, is not in the purest style of Gothic art, nor have the recumbent statues, however faithful in their likeness, the merit of remarkable beauty. The interest of the monument lies in the romantic story which it symbolizes, and the evident popular reverence of which it is the centre. At almost any hour of the day, some man or woman of the people may be found waiting and gazing there. The work-

man spares a few sous to hang on the railing his votive wreath, the offering of his holiday, and the flower-girl saves from her stock a handful of roses to drop upon this tomb. The rough artisans of the Faubourg St. Antoine love to come hither; and, if they cannot explain the rude Greek inscription,* or see in this pair of figures the eternal marriage of philosophy and religion, they can discover a charm which tames them into courtesy. There are in the cemetery of Père la Chaise numberless famous monuments, of generals, statesmen, poets, orators, and men of letters, but none for which the people seem to care as for this. If honors at his tomb can make a man a hero, Abelard in his own land will come next to Charlemagne and Napoleon. Even the excesses of the first Revolution, which tore up and scattered the sacred relics of kings, and profaned the vaults of St. Denis, spared the bones of the philosopher and scholar.

The popular association of the name of Abelard is with that of Heloise. When one of these is mentioned, the other is instantly suggested. But, historically, Abelard's name has other and larger associations, — with that of Roscelin in the first grand protest of reason against authority, the inauguration and prophecy of the triumph of science, — with that of Bernard, in the battle of knowledge with creed, of ideas with formulas, of the soul against the Church, — with that of Arnold of Brescia in suffering for opinion's sake. His correspondence with a nun, which was in his own day the scandal of his life, now makes his chief renown; but his truest record is in the reforms of these later centuries, of which he was the pioneer. With Abelard modern rationalism practically began. He first, in the darkness of the Middle Age, spoke the word of promise for the days to come, proved that all wisdom was not in the cloister, that inquiry had rights which monkery might not silence, and ventured to criticise established methods of thought and teaching. In modern civilization the life of Abelard is one of the earliest and most important factors, marking the first successes of mind in breaking away from the trammels of ecclesiastical teaching.

* ΑΕΙ ΣΥΜΠΕΠΛΕΓΜΕΝΟΙ. "For ever united."

We cannot read it with the same feeling with which we read the lives of Catholic saints, or those of great men who were workers chiefly inward for their own time. It is to be interpreted by the progress of thought and discovery in Europe, not merely in the schools of French philosophy, but in all the great movements for reform in Germany, Holland, and England. His proper companions are not so much Descartes, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, as Pascal, Grotius, Erasmus, Bacon, and Wickliffe.

Abelard was born at a time when the power of the Catholic Church seemed to have reached its height, and assumed its definite proportions. The capture of Jerusalem by the Turks had put an end to all Christian possession there, the schism of the Greek Church had become irrevocably fixed, and the successor of St. Peter had exacted from all the monarchs of Western Europe the confession of his independent rights. Scarcely a year had passed since Henry of Germany had waited with bare feet at the door of Gregory's palace, and had stooped to meaner humiliation than the legendary submission of Theodosius before Ambrose. William of Normandy, as a faithful vassal of the Pope, had just conquered England from its rebellious Saxon kings. Philip of France was loyal, and agreed to all that Hildebrand would claim. The tribute of "Peter's pence," which King Ina of Wessex had some centuries before invented, had now become an institution; and to fail in its payment was to fail in religious duty and to risk terrible punishment. The new College of Cardinals was the body-guard and the instrument of Roman sovereignty, and the monastic institutions, set on the finest sites of every land, were so many fortresses defending Catholic unity. To question the least practice of the Roman ritual, or the boldest form of Roman dogma, to allegorize or spiritualize any portion of the creed or worship, was a crime to be watched, to be denounced, to be punished. In the year 1078 the heretic Berenger, who for more than thirty years had fought against the literal doctrine of transubstantiation, solemnly at Rome renounced his falsehood, and testified upon oath, that the bread and wine, when the priest had sanctified them by his prayer, became the actual body and blood of

Christ. When Abelard was born, all teaching and all influence were in the hands of the Church.

Abelard was of noble parentage. His father, Count Berenger, inherited a spacious domain in the region of the Loire, and was owner of a conspicuous castle in what is now the small village of Pallet, about fifteen miles southeast of Nantes. In this castle (the site of which is still marked by an old stone cross), in the year 1079, his eldest son, Peter, first saw the light. Though destined from birth to the profession of arms, the child was not deprived of anything that could make an accomplished scholar and gentleman. His father was, for that age, a cultivated man, — unusually so for an inhabitant of the rude and brutal province of Brittany.* But it soon became evident that the small supply of knowledge which the neighborhood, with its scanty manuscript treasures and its indifferent teachers, could furnish, would not satisfy the marvellous capacity and the boundless desire of the growing boy. Relinquishing speedily the thought of a military life, he set himself to be a knight-errant of philosophy, and travelled over the whole region, seeking scholastic adventures, disputing by the wayside, holding controversy with learned wranglers, and venturing upon all questions, however grave, subtile, or mystical. He went to the schools of the dialectic masters only to hear, to vanquish, and to forsake them. How far his travels extended, it is impossible to tell, or in what part of France it was that he first met with the condemned heretic Roscelin, the champion of the Nominalists. Certain it is, that before the age of twenty he had heard this renowned master, had refuted his arguments, and had adopted many of his views. As yet, his education had been provincial. He had not ventured to the capital, and had only in his wanderings drilled his wit and his speech for the keener encounters of logic in the famous school of Nôtre Dame.

The rector of this school at that time — the close of the eleventh century — was the Archdeacon William of Champeaux, called, from his towering ability as a dialectician, the "Column of the Teachers." The fame of his instruction had

* "Brito dictus est quasi brutus."

made Paris to the rest of Europe what Athens was to Rome in the age of Augustus. Students from Italy, Germany, and England flocked to the cloisters of the island in the Seine, and went back with large report of the wit and wisdom in those halls of logic. The master was gracious to his pupils, and honored those who were quick and intelligent with special notice and favor; — though it was observed that his favor was not very lasting. No pupil was more prepossessing than was Peter Berenger, then in the flower of his youth, comely in countenance, eloquent in address, instant in apprehension, of surprising memory, and of a wisdom strangely precocious. He might long have remained the favorite, had he been content to listen, and not dared to dispute. But Peter was never a docile pupil; — the weapons of argument against which fellow-pupils could bring no match were speedily turned upon the teacher himself, and the favor of the Archdeacon was changed to indignation. The evident and perfect victory, however, was not at once on the side of the young upstart. He was an adept in the ways of the *Trivium*, but in the *Quadrivium** he was as yet untaught; and ignorance of these branches exposed him often to mortification. For a while he endeavored by a course of private lessons with an obscure teacher to make up for this lack; but his mind was already too full, and his tastes were too far decided; and the chief result of his lessons in the *Quadrivium*, which he vainly endeavored to conceal, was the surname by which he was ever after known. †

Abelard could not long remain in the position of a learner. Two years have hardly passed before we find him at the head of a rival school at Melun, a royal residence, some five and twenty miles from Paris; and not much later, at Corbeil, still

* The scientific division of the Middle Age separated studies into the *Trivium*, comprehending rhetoric, grammar, and dialectics, and the *Quadrivium*, comprehending arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

† The popular notion of Abelard's surname derives it from the French word *abeille*, the application of which to him seemed as fit as the application of the same epithet to the great Athenian. Its true origin was in the jest of his teacher, who told him one day, to cheer his despondency, that a great scholar like himself, like a full dog, could do nothing but *bajare lardum*, "lick up the fat," which was taken up as a nickname by his fellow-students, and corrupted finally into "Abelardus."

farther down the Seine, and within comfortable walking-distance of the episcopal house at Nôtre Dame. Party jealousies among the students of Paris aided his success. The Archdeacon began to tremble at the rising fame of this brilliant and intrepid rival, and was relieved only by learning that the physical powers of the young teacher were not equal to his excessive labors, and that ill-health had forced him to suspend hostilities.

After a few years spent in various study and travel, Abelard came back to Paris and enrolled himself once more with the students of his former master, who now enlivened the solitude of a monastic life by classes in rhetoric and philosophy. The pupil was no longer a presumptuous youth, but a man of mature years, noted, skilful, and formidable, to whom even a prelate of the Church might fitly defer. A discussion soon arose upon the question of Nominalism and Realism, which the condemnation of Roscelin had made the great question of science. William of Champeaux was a Realist, thorough and zealous. He maintained most sturdily that ideas are essences; that names are things; that man is as much a reality as individual men are realities; that *universals* as truly as particulars are positive existences. He believed that there are no such things as abstract conceptions. The essence of the whole enters into every part. The ideal sheep or horse is to be found in every individual of the species, yet has an independent life of its own. This view, Abelard as a Nominalist delighted to refute and to ridicule. "If the race," said he, "is the essence of the individual, if *man* is an essence entire in every man, and individuality is only an accident, it follows that this essence is at the same time *entire in every man at once;* that when Plato is at Rome, and Socrates at Athens, it is all with Plato at Rome, and all at Athens with Socrates. In like manner, the *universal* man, being the essence of the individual, is the individual himself, and carries with him everywhere the individual; so that when Plato is at Rome, Socrates is there also, and when Socrates is at Athens, Plato is with him and in him." Reasoning like this soon silenced the Realist, and destroyed his influence with his pupils. To be vanquished in this argument was to lose the prestige of dialectic skill. The

humiliation of William was complete, when he saw his rival established as a teacher in the very city of Paris, on the Mount St. Geneviève, in the very cloisters of the patron saint of the city, looking down from this height upon the inferior school of Nôtre Dame on the island, and defying his impotent threats and slanders.

The position of Abelard in this new school was splendid enough to satisfy even his boundless ambition. The idol of a crowd of pupils who thronged to his lessons from every part of the land, — the wonder of those who had exhausted the wisdom of other teachers, — invincible in argument, invulnerable to the attacks of the most cunning sophists, day by day he rose in fame, in pride, and in consciousness of power. One by one, his enemies ceased to make their cavils heard. William of Champeaux went off to bury his shame in the cares of a distant bishopric. If filial duty called Abelard away for a season, to dismiss his parents to the convent life, which they had both embraced, he could find on his return that no one remained to dispute his supremacy. In the year 1113,* at the age of thirty-four, he was acknowledged the intellectual ruler of Paris, and virtually of Europe, — the highest authority in all the popular branches of human science, a "dictator in the republic of letters."

The praise which his contemporaries lavished upon his universal knowledge was not quite deserved. Though he had read extensively in ancient authors, and knew something of almost every subject, he did not "know all which any one could know," as his epitaph reads.† For the science of mathematics he had no fancy or aptitude, and was never quick at figures. Of law, he had but limited knowledge; for in his time it was not much studied. The great school of Bologna did not exist. He was master of no ancient tongue but the Latin; the Greek, of which there were at this time but few students, was known to him only by a few philosophical terms, and all its authors he read in translations; while in Hebrew he had

* In the same year, the young monk Bernard was planting at Clairvaux his famous convent.

† "Ille sciens quicquid fuit ulli scibile. Non homini, sed scientiæ deest quod nescivit."

no instruction. Yet his philosophical knowledge seems to justify the most extravagant praise. It comprehended all writers, from the pupils of Socrates down to the latest of the Church Fathers. His brilliant teaching showed as much the fruits of extensive study as the keenness of a sharp logical insight. Citations from classic and Christian authors, from Cicero and Priscian, from Porphyry and St. Augustine, lent grace and strength to his clear propositions. Nor were playful witticisms excluded. In his frequent literary digressions, which relieved the dryness of abstract reasoning, he did not disdain to own the charm of heathen poetry. The verses of Virgil and Horace, Ovid and Lucan, were woven like golden threads into his ingenious pleadings, and he even uoted passages from them as "authority."

Philosophy was the department of teaching for which Abelard had the most remarkable genius, and in this he is claimed as the inventor of the theory of *Conceptualism*,* which is a sort of compromise between the Nominalists and the Realists, an application of the idealism of Plato to the dialectics of Aristotle. Abelard eulogized the Academic philosopher, while he closely followed the Stagirite. All the Church Fathers borrowed Aristotle's method, but Abelard was his chief interpreter to the mind of Europe.

As yet, Abelard had not ventured upon the ground of theology, the province of monks and priests, to whose life he had no inclination. It remained the only field in which he had not conquered. At this time the leading teacher in theology in France was Anselm of Laon, a namesake and a former pupil of the great Archbishop of Canterbury. For a while, he had taught in Paris, but for some years had lived in retirement at Laon, where the magnificent Cathedral still keeps his memory as one of the fathers of Gothic architecture. Crowds of students came from all parts of Europe to hear his commentaries on the Scriptures, and to be charmed by his seductive eloquence. Among the rest Abelard resorted to him, but

* The formula of this theory is "that universal ideas are the expression of *conceptions* founded on real facts." It is singular that this word *conceptualism* was used in histories of philosophy which were written before the manuscript fragments of Abelard which explain the system had been brought to light.

soon discovered that his showy rhetoric had no depth or force. "Fine foliage in the distance, but near at hand nothing but a barren fig-tree. When he kindled his fire, he made smoke enough, but brought out no light."

"I could not long," says Abelard, "waste my time in the shadow of such a man." And very soon he made it known that he stood ready, without a teacher, to expound passages of Scripture harder than any that Anslem attempted. The incredulous scorn which greeted his proposals was changed to admiring enthusiasm at his signal success. In a single night, he had mastered the profoundest secrets of Ezekiel's prophecy, and had proved that insight, rather than theologic lore, is needed to understand the Divine Word. His notes were recorded as they fell from his lips. The students of Anselm transferred their attachment from the old priest to the young philosopher, and Pompey could only rail with desperate wrath against the Cæsar who had spoiled him of his honors. When Abelard returned to Paris, he carried with him a theological fame which before him only years of cloistral study had been able to earn, and seemed to have compassed the circle of the sciences. He came back the recognized head of all the schools of Paris, fit to teach in any, — to receive, though not a priest, the office of "canon" of the city.*

M. Rémusat gives a glowing description of the Cité of Paris at this culminating period of Abelard's glory. The island in the Seine was at that time the centre of religion, justice, authority, and letters to all the city. Around the cathedral were fifteen churches, besides convents, palaces, and royal gardens, crowding all the narrow space with sacred and splendid associations.

"There, under the shadow of those churches and the cathedral, in solemn cloisters, in vast halls, or on the turf of the court-yards, walked to and fro the sacred band, who seemed to live only for science and faith, yet were animated equally by the love of argument and of influence. Along with these priests, and under their sometimes jealous, but often impotent oversight, went the turbulent crowd of students of

* Some writers deny that he was made canon of Paris thus early. Others insist that he was canon of Sens and not of Paris.

all ranks, of all callings, of all races, of all countries, whom, for studies sacred or profane, the European renown of the school of Paris had called together. In this school, and in the midst of this attentive and obedient nation, was often to be seen a man of broad forehead, quick, proud glance, and noble bearing, whose beauty still kept the bloom of youth, while it bore the darker hues and the more decided lines of mature manhood. His sober yet carefully ordered costume, the severe elegance of his whole exterior, the simple dignity of his address, by turns affable and lofty, an imposing and graceful manner, marked by that indolent ease which follows the confidence of success and the habit of command, the deference of his attendants, haughty to all except to him, the curious eagerness of the crowd, who made way as he walked along to his lessons or returned to his dwelling, followed by disciples still excited by his eloquence, — all gave sign of a master, most mighty in the school, most famous in the world, most popular in the Cité. Everywhere they talked of him. From the remotest regions, from Brittany, from England, from the lands of the Suevi and the Teutons, they flocked to hear him. Even Rome sent scholars to him. The throngs of the street, anxious to look at him, stopped while he passed; the people in their houses came down to the threshold of the doorway, and women drew back the curtain from the little panes of their narrow window. Paris had adopted him as her child, her ornament, and her light; and now made universal boast of that name, which, after seven centuries, the city which has boasted so much, and forgotten so much, still keeps in her public remembrance." — Vol. I. p. 43.

It was indeed a proud eminence to occupy; the prouder, from the reflection that all this greatness he himself had achieved. He had no one on earth to envy. Riches flowed in upon him from the five thousand students, whom it is not probable that he taught gratuitously.* He looked around, and there was no one in the world but himself who seemed worthy the name of "philosopher."† He had no fear of foes, whether in the halls of knowledge or in the conclaves of the Church. He seemed to have reached a place so high, so strong, so inaccessible to other men, that nothing but his own will could overthrow him. But there was one fatal force with which he had not yet been called to strive. The

* This seemingly fabulous number of Abelard's pupils is attested by numerous and trustworthy witnesses, foes not less than friends.

† "Cum jam me solum in mundo superesse philosophum æstimarem." — Epist. I.

passion which Bernard was in youth so careful to extinguish, conquered the great teacher in the maturity of his years. When Abelard stooped to love, he ceased to rule.

That the life of Abelard, up to the period of his acquaintance with Heloise, had been that of an ascetic, it is not safe to affirm. For the irregular pleasures of worldly scholars he had always professed a proud disdain; yet there is reason to suppose, from a friend's letter to him still extant, that in his dealings with the other sex he had not been a model of austere purity.* No scandal, however, had attached to his name. Although he was a canon of the Church, he had not received priest's orders, and some degree of license might have been overlooked, and pardoned. But now he was to appear in a new character, which at once mortified, saddened, and alarmed the friends who idolized him.

In a house on the northeast corner of the isle of the Cité, portions of which are still remaining, lived at this time an old canon, Fulbert by name, whose chief pride and joy was the beautiful niece who dwelt with him, and whose education he had cared for so far, that she had become a prodigy of learning in the sciences and the tongues, "famous through all the kingdom." To the honor of her noble birth were added the charms of a graceful form and a sweet disposition. Large deduction may be made from Abelard's encomiums, and yet enough will be left to prove the rare fascination of one who could captivate the master of sciences. Her youth (for at the time when Abelard's acquaintance with her began she was not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age) only increased the marvel of her accomplishments. Abelard resolved to win to himself such a prize. The way was not difficult; for the vanity of Fulbert grasped eagerly at the privilege of such instruction for his favorite, and the philosopher found a home in the old canon's house, with the liberty of unrestricted association and unreserved authority, as regarded his lovely pupil. There was no suspicion, and no watch of their movements.

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* A couplet in one of his poems runs:

"Gratior est humilis meretrix quam casta superba,
Perturbatque domum sæpius ista suum."

The consequence was natural and inevitable. Their studies were shared, they read together, they sang together, their hearts met with their eyes, and soon all bounds of love were passed, and duty and honor were lost in the delirium of passion. There was no attempt on the part of Abelard to conceal his sentiment. His lessons in the school grew careless, his expositions were tame and mechanical, and love-songs were the productions which amazed his scholars. He became "the first of the Trouvères." After a while, reports created suspicions, and the lovers were parted. But they continued to hold stolen interviews, and felt it a kind of duty to maintain their thwarted passion.

We need not dwell upon the subsequent steps of the catastrophe; — how Heloise, carried off to the early home of her lover, there became mother of his son; how she argued and expostulated to prevent the marriage which remorse and affection made him urge, but which she knew would blight his prospects and defeat his ambition; how reluctantly she consented to the "sacrifice" which restored her own honor, and sought to keep secret in the seclusion of a convent that which another woman would have hastened to make public; how the jealous Fulbert at last found opportunity for satisfying his vengeance; the shame and doubt and despair which overwhelmed Abelard; the solemn grief of Heloise, as she took, in the convent of Argenteuil (the place of her early education), the black habit of a nun, pronouncing that plaint with which, in the Pharsalia, Cornelia greets Pompey on his return from Pharsalia.* These rapid changes are as a short and troubled dream, from which one awakes to terrible reality. This brief year of passion divides the life of Abelard. The years before were mainly years of triumph and hope, of rising fame and growing ambition. The years that follow are mainly years of trial and pain, in which victories only flash out from the prevailing darkness. Before was the steady summer effulgence;

* "O maxime conjux,
O thalamis indigne meis, hoc juris habebat
In tantum Fortuna caput! Cur impia nupsi,
Si miserum factura fui? Nunc accipe pœnas,
Sed quas sponte luam."

now is the lowering autumn, when the brightest days are clouded and sad. When Abelard ceased to love, the climax of his life was passed.

The place of retreat which Abelard chose was the great abbey of St. Denis, the most important convent in the kingdom. Here, when the first flush of shame and the first deep broodings of vengeance were gone, he hoped to give himself to the silence and meditation of a true monastic life. But his own nature was too restless for such a seclusion. Scandalized by the profane excesses of the holy abbot and his brethren, he complained so boldly, that those who had received him as a guest of honor in their house now found him a nuisance whose presence burdened their hospitality. To the pressing instances of his former disciples was soon added the disinterested urgency of his convent friends, who thought it shameful that so much learning and ability should be wasted in the exercises of the cloister. After a year at St. Denis, we find him again at the head of a school, in the priory of Maisoncelle, in Champagne, with a crowd of students around him hardly less than in his day of glory. Paris came out to listen to him in his solitude. The other schools began at once to decline, and the poor monk could know, that, though the world had heard of his disgrace, it had not forgotten his genius. His new teachings were more in theology than in dialectics, his reasonings gathered themselves around the substance of religious doctrine, and men could say, with emphasis, that the Church had again its Origen.

The new position was a dangerous one; and the moral power of Abelard to sustain himself was not what it had formerly been. He was no longer a master, who could despise his enemies, but a simple private teacher, whose act, moreover, in establishing a school without authority, was illegal by the canon law. A fierce storm rose around him. He was accused of arrogance, of heresy, of blasphemy, of profaning the truth of God by worldly science, and of setting philosophy above faith. It was affirmed that he gave to Grecian sages equal honor with Christian saints, admitted salvation for heathen philosophers, even questioned the mystery of the Trinity, and reasoned into abstract attributes the high persons

of the Godhead. The arm of the Church was bidden to crush this disciple of Plato, who taught another Gospel than that of the Fathers.

At first Abelard despised the clamor, and flung back the charges with vigorous sarcasms. He instanced the old fable of the fox and the grapes in reply to their abuse of his profane philosophy, challenged them to argue with him on the doctrines of faith, and plied them with reasons for what they called his heresies. But it soon appeared that he must apologize for, rather than defend, his views, and must do this before a tribunal new to him, and fatal to heretics from Arius downward, — a *Synod* of the Church. At Soissons,* noted already in the previous generation for the condemnation of Roscelin, he was called to stand before an imposing Council, gathered from the magnates of the French Church, and presided over by a papal legate, the Bishop Conon, a skilful hunter of heretics. In this city and before this assembly Abelard stood almost alone, conscious that the prejudices and passions of all around were combined to destroy him. The first charge against him was, that he "denied the Trinity." He refuted this by proving from his writings that he had advocated the doctrine and sustained it by large use of the Fathers, of Origen, of Augustine, even of Athanasius, and by actual words of the Holy Scripture. They then reproached him that he had reasoned at all about the ineffable mystery; but he turned upon them with such a flood of ingenious eloquence, that many were captivated and some were converted. The majority of voices, nevertheless, condemned him, and at the closing session of the Council the solemn farce was ordered that he should burn his books and retract his errors. The Inquisition had not yet begun to burn the bodies of heretics. The scene as it is described has ludicrous features.

"While Abelard sadly looked upon his burning roll, the silence of the judges was suddenly broken, and one of the most hostile said, in an undertone, that he had somewhere read that God the Father alone was omnipotent. Amazed, the legate rejoined, 'I cannot believe it. Every child knows that the universal faith of the Church declares that

* The populace of Soissons were extremely fanatical. A few years before, they had burned a man who was only suspected of Manicheism.

there are three omnipotent beings.' On this, a scholastic teacher, Thierry by name, laughed, and repeated in a loud whisper the words of the Athanasian Creed, 'And yet there are not three omnipotent beings, but only one.' Reproached for this untimely and irreverent remark, he boldly paraphrased the words of Daniel in the Apocryphal story: 'Thus, foolish sons of Israel, without examination or knowledge of the truth, ye have condemned one of your own brethren. Return again to the place of judgment and condemn the judge, whose own mouth has condemned him.' Then the Archbishop, rising, justified, as well as he could, in other language, the legate's idea, and endeavored to show, that, as the Father, Son, and Spirit were all omnipotent, whoever departed from this position ought not to be listened to. But *if 'the brother' admitted this*, he might explain his faith in their presence, so that it could be finally pronounced what portion was true and what portion false. At this apparent change of affairs Abelard took hope and courage. He thought of St. Paul before the Areopagus and the Jewish Council. If he could only speak, all might be saved. His enemies saw his plan, promptly parried it, cried out that all that he needed to do was to recite the Athanasian Creed, and, to forestall his plea that he did not know it by heart, thrust a copy of it before his eyes. His head sank, he sighed, and in broken accents read what he could." — Vol. I. p. 93.

Condemned to imprisonment as a heretic, Abelard was sent first to the sacred convent of St. Medard, one of the richest, most orderly, and most respected of the French religious foundations.* His short residence here was embittered by thoughts of the depth of his downfall, and by the disputes which he was compelled to hold with a former vanquished rival in the school of Paris, who now, as Prior of the Convent, undertook to "tame down the rhinoceros"; using sometimes the argument of logic, and sometimes that of the scourge, to which the helpless prisoner was forced to submit. Public clamor, which did not justify the sentence of the Council, soon released Abelard from his imprisonment at St. Medard, and brought him back to St. Denis, to quarrel again with the monks about questions of scholarship and practices of morality. His gravest sin was in affirming, on the authority of the venerable Bede, that Dionysius the Areopagite,

* This convent was remarkable as the burial-place of several of the old Gallic kings. The crypt still remains, but above it has been built a large asylum for the deaf and dumb, a conspicuous object on the bank of the river Aisne.

their cherished St. Denis, was bishop of Corinth, and not of Athens.*

He was now allowed to try the experiment of a hermit life, which he had before vainly longed for. On the borders of a tributary of the Seine, about ninety miles from Paris, in a wild region, fertile, but unfrequented, the counterpart to the valley of Clairvaux, he chose his place of retreat, built a little hut of straw and reeds, and dedicated it to the Trinity, hoping to pass the rest of his troubled life far from the haunts of men.† If this were his real hope, it was doomed to swift disappointment. The people could not so readily forget their hero. His cell was soon discovered, and surrounded by huts of innumerable scholars, some even pitching tents that they might follow him more easily if he should attempt to change his retreat, and all content to lie on the bare ground and live on the rudest fare, if they might so listen to the unsurpassed teacher. This turn in his fortune did not much distress the recluse, but rather revived his old proud joy. It was St. Jerome's life renewed, — priests and scholars coming to learn of the poor hermit and to hear his mandates. His frail oratory soon became a substantial structure of wood and stone, built, furnished, and adorned by the hands of disciples. The name by which this oratory is known in history (and few of its kind have been more widely known) is that of Paraclete, or Comforter; for here the sufferer had been consoled in his sorrows, and had learned how reason may conquer the trials of body and mind, and wisdom be justified in her children. To attest his orthodoxy, he caused to be set up on the altar of the oratory a symbolic group, representing the Trinity, — three figures carved from a single block of stone, each with its appropriate costume and inscription. This remarkable group remained entire for nearly seven hundred years, and was destroyed only in the excesses of the first French Revolution. ‡

* The honor of St. Denis of Athens is now shared by a new St. Denis, the Archbishop of Paris, who fell in the insurrection of 1848. Their figures are set opposite to each other on the painted windows of the church of St. Roch.

† Petrarch, in his essay on "A Life of Solitude," cites Abelard as the most illustrious modern instance.

‡ The group was composed of three figures set back to back, the Father in the

The retreat of the Paraclete recalled now the monasteries of the Thebaid, with this difference, that study rather than prayer was its ruling purpose. The discipline was novel, as the rules were few, quite unlike both discipline and rules in the convent of Bernard. The hardest penalty for irregular conduct was to be deprived of the master's lessons, and some curious instances are told of the pain which this privation caused. Abelard was a lenient censor, and more ready to forgive practical sins than to pass by intellectual errors. Men went to Clairvaux to learn obedience and to practise self-denial. They went to Paraclete to learn philosophy, and the principle of spiritual triumph over fleshly appetite. Truth was more than discipline here, study more than penance and fasting, the class more than the cell. Bernard taught his disciples how to conform, Abelard taught his disciples how to inquire; the one guided them backward through practice into faith, the other forward through faith into practice. The fame of this new kind of convent was noised abroad, and came to the ears of that man who now had reached the foremost position in the Church, and was by common consent set as dictator of doctrine and duty to all the faithful. Paraclete and Clairvaux were not very far apart, scarcely fifty miles, and their differing systems soon brought their differing leaders into strong antagonism. Abelard had been in strife with many famous doctors, but never yet had been matched with such a giant as the monk Bernard.

The famous champion of the established faith and order was still young in years; but his crowded labors, restless zeal, and signal austerities, had given him the renown of a

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middle, clothed in a long gown, a stole hanging from his neck, crossed upon his breast, and fastened to his girdle, a mantle upon his shoulders, which reached to each of the others, from the clasp of which hung a gilded band, on which were the words, "Filius meus es tu." On the right of the Father, the Son, in a similar robe, but without a girdle, held in his hands a cross resting on his breast, and on the left a band with the words, "Pater meus es tu." The figure of the Holy Spirit had the hands crossed upon the breast, and bore the legend, "Ego utriusque spiraculum." All wore crowns, the Holy Spirit a crown of olive, the Son a crown of thorns, and the Father a solid crown. In the Father's hand was the globe, the sign of supreme power. He alone had covered feet. The design of the group was superior to the mechanical execution.

"father" in the Church. No heresy could escape his sleepless searching. The epithet "Watch-dog of the Faith" he deserved and justified. Long before he had met Abelard in person, he had resolved to silence this daring thinker. He had waited only to gain a firm authority, that the warfare which should be ventured against the master of all knowledge might not fail of success. Abelard, too, had cherished a secret fear of one who seemed to be helped in his undertakings by superhuman power. To the exciting desire of conflict with such an enemy was opposed a troublesome doubt of its issue. What if Hector, defiant of all other foes and rivals, should be the victim of this invulnerable Achilles? Reports from time to time came of an impending blow, which this terrible scourger of heretics was preparing for him. His suspicions fastened to every provincial synod of the region some plot for his destruction. The suspense became intolerable to him; his lessons lost their interest; it seemed as if all the forces of the world and the Church were in league against him. He began to meditate how he should escape altogether from Catholic lands, and go to live among the heathen as a missionary of Christ. There, if he might not find charity, he might at least live unknown and be forgotten. A fortunate chance seemed for the time to relieve his anxiety, and to postpone the conflict which he dreaded. He knew the monk of Clairvaux too well to believe that his suspicion, once awakened, could be lulled. But he hoped by change of scene and work to avert the danger.

On a desolate cliff of the bay of Morbihan,* in the province of Lower Brittany, are still to be seen the ruins of the abbey of St. Gildas de Ruys. In the year 1125, this convent was already of high antiquity, and had among the foundations of France an honorable rank. To be the head of such a house, and successor of such a line of priors, reaching back over six centuries of history, was a distinction which even Abelard might covet. This position was offered to him. He was too glad of an asylum to hesitate long. Discharged by the con-

* This, one of the least frequented localities of France, is remarkable for the number and interest of its historical monuments. The Celtic stones of Carnac are the most wonderful of all existing Druidical remains.

vent of St. Denis, he entered with zeal upon his new duties, which were not likely to be either pleasant or easy. The customs of the monks were not congenial to the tastes of a scholar, nor were their morals tolerable to his austere decorum. Their language was barbarous, their behavior wild and reckless, and they were impatient of all restraint. Oppressed by the exactions of a feudal robber lord who dwelt in the neighborhood, they consoled themselves for paying one half of their revenue in tribute, by spending the other half in debauchery. Abelard soon found that his scholastic lore was worth nothing in the management of such a gross and unlettered company. His teachings they would not hear, his discipline they despised. Without the walls was danger, within was discouragement. Melancholy now took the place of his former anxiety. The influences of nature in that lonely region helped to make him sad and thoughtful. He felt profoundly that sense of desolation which Chateaubriand has described in his romantic memoirs. His days were spent in brooding reverie, in sorrowful review of his past misfortunes, in fruitless repining over his errors. The elegiac verses which record these sorrows of his heart are not the least unworthy monument of his fame.

While he was abandoning himself to this luxury of grief, listening to the monotonous plash of waves upon the rocks, which he translated into upbraidings of Heaven upon his folly, vexing himself with fruitless remorse that he had left Paraclete for this dismal exile, he was again restored to better duties and a happier experience, and enabled to do tardy justice to one whom he knew that he had wronged. Heloise had now become a recluse, eminent for wisdom, purity, and sanctity. A reform in the nunneries of France had driven her, with her companions, from their home at Argenteuil.* Abelard took the opportunity of making over to her his property at Paraclete, the oratory, the woods, the neighboring hamlet, and the fruit-bearing orchards. The gift was solemnly ratified by the Pope, and in the year 1126 Heloise became the

* The nuns of Argenteuil were not all like their abbess, and her experience there bore some resemblance to that of Abelard at St. Gildas.

first abbess in that long line of noble ladies, the last of whom died within the memory of living men.

The correspondence between Abelard and Heloise, long interrupted, was now resumed. Few literary remains of the Middle Age are more curious than these remarkable letters. They are still models of a chaste, ardent, and dignified epistolary style. There are in them at once a warmth and a reserve which show enduring attachment tempered by profound remorse. They are the letters of a spiritual adviser and a trustful pupil; of high religious friendship, and yet, at least on the side of Heloise, having the glow of a deep tenderness. They are the letters of love regenerated, of love sublimed by sorrow. Great as is the variety of topics, yet their highest interest is in the personalities of the writers. If Heloise asks the wise Abbot to advise her on some point of convent management, it is yet clear that she cares more for him who answers than for the answer which he gives. If Abelard rehearses some passage of his former fortunes, it is evident that he loves best to remember the season when Heloise was his pupil. He rejoices to come down from the dignified position of spiritual guide, to praise the grace and virtue of this pure servant of God. She is an exception to all women. She has changed the curse of Eve to the blessing of Mary. Her name,* unconsciously borrowed from the "Elohim," is prophetic of her divine loveliness. For him is justly the cross, but for her as fitly the crown. Even in forbidding her to write to him as belonging to him, Abelard loves to write of her while he writes to her.

We must not suppose, however, that the more modern versions of the letters of Abelard and Heloise are a fair representation of the tone of their language and sentiment. Neither the light brilliancy of Bussy Rabutin, nor the sentimental verse of Colardean,† nor the stately and polished rhythm of Pope, gives an adequate idea of the simple elegance of these

* The name Heloise is really the same as Louisa.

† Colardean was one of the most brilliant and versatile writers of the last century, — a poet of extraordinary wit, and singular faculty of imitation. He reproduced in France the style of Tasso, of Pope, and of Young, with equal facility. He died in 1776.

Latin epistles of the twelfth century. The legendary history of the affection of these lovers has added to their correspondence many things which were never written, and changed many common expressions into the language of passion. A comparison of manuscripts existing in the libraries of France and Italy with the cheap translations sold on the quays of Paris, shows that the story of Abelard and Heloise has fared in its passage through the ages like the stories of wonder-working saints. The sentimental chapter of Chateaubriand is hardly justified by what these lovers really wrote.*

With the renewal of their correspondence their acquaintance was renewed. Abelard became the visitor of the convent at Paraclete, and its spiritual director. It was a delightful relief from the harsh associations and duties of his own abbey to witness the pious austerities, the exemplary labors and prayers, of these holy sisters. It was cheering to see how earnest they were in imitation of her who walked before them an example of every Christian grace. To the nuns Abelard seemed a father in God. They waited reverently for his word; they used the liturgy which he wrote for them; and his ingenious discourse about some theological question often charmed their hours away. Daily, as his interest in the new religious house increased, the contrast of his own rude and riotous home became more repulsive. His efforts for reform were met with plots against his life, and more than once he narrowly escaped death by poison. Even the last resort of excommunication did not secure him, and his own brethren were ready to violate their solemn oath, if they might so rid themselves of his presence. Before he obtained a final release from his monastic duties, he had become an exile from his convent, and a guest in the house of a lord of the country. Here he composed that history of his misfortunes (*Historia Calamitatum*), which, midway in time between the Confessions of Augustine and of Rousseau, unites the mystic piety of the one to the morbid philosophy of the other. It is a tale of weaknesses, sufferings, and sins, — an outpouring of sentimental miseries.

* Genie du Christianisme, Part II. Book III. Chap. V.

A short season of quiet, though not of idleness, followed Abelard's release from the convent of St. Gildas. He tasted now the joys of friendship, and was comforted in finding that not all the noble were ungrateful, or unmindful of genius. One book after another came from his busy pen, and his systems of theology and philosophy, reviewed with care, took their final shape and fashion. He seemed to be happy, and could hope that his enemies had ceased to watch for his frailties and heresies. But the old ambition of the scholar was only smothered, not quenched. It was easy to persuade him to venture again into the arena of letters, and renew the glory of his youth. In the year 1136, at the age of fifty-seven, he astonished the world by opening his school on Mount St. Geneviève, the scene of his earliest triumph. The surprise was followed by a success as sudden. Students flocked from all directions to hear the gray-haired sage whose fame their fathers had rehearsed. A new generation came to listen to the Nestor of philosophy. An English prelate* has told of the enthusiasm with which he assisted in these lessons of the "Peripatetic Paladin," as he calls Abelard.

More than eleven years had now passed since first Abelard began to tremble beneath that terrible eye which seemed to be fastened upon him from out the gloom of the ancient Church. For a time he had seemed to escape it; but he was soon made conscious that it was still upon him. In this interval, he had once met with Bernard, on the occasion of a proselyting journey of the Pope through France. The confident bearing of Abelard at that time, and his apparent indifference to the person of the Father of Christendom, left an unfavorable impression upon the suspicious guardian of the honor of St Peter. At a subsequent visit to Paraclete, Bernard had noticed a change in the words of the Lord's Prayer, which he learned with indignation had been suggested by Abelard. His feeling, openly expressed, was of course not long in reaching the ears of the friend of Heloise, and a quarrel arose, in which sarcasm only provoked zeal to bitterness. Bernard had the advantage of position, and had also the ad-

* John of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, himself a "peripatetic" scholar.

vantage in temper and cunning. He was willing to relent and be reconciled, if Abelard would yield all the points of his heresy. In this, as in every similar difficulty, the conservative could be satisfied only by the reformer's thorough submission; the concessions must be all on one side. Abelard was ready to meet his adversary half-way, but found soon that Bernard was not a man to make or accept compromises. Their warfare in a little time became a warfare of parties, a public concern. A throng of followers applauded the eloquent invectives of the monk of Clairvaux, denouncing the vengeance of Heaven on the perfidious dogmatizer. A strong band of friends could sympathize with the contempt which the fearless teacher expressed for one who was a foe to freedom. On one side were piety and numbers, on the other genius and enthusiasm. A crowded majority cheered on Bernard to crush the heretic who dared to neglect and improve upon "the Fathers"; a noble minority stood ready to help Abelard in his defence of philosophy, in his apology for liberty. But the contest was unequal, and Abelard soon saw that the best argument was no match for adroit management, backed by religious bigotry. Four centuries yet must pass before reason could justify itself in the ways of the world against authority. He had no alternative but to dare his enemy to a public trial.

The reigning king of France at this time, Louis VII., a devout lover of religious spectacles, had decreed for the octave of Pentecost in the year 1140 a special season for the adoration of the numerous and precious relics in the metropolitan church at Sens, a city some fifteen leagues south of Paris. This city, the Canterbury of France, and destined a few years later to be associated more nearly with the Canterbury of England, through the fame of Thomas à Becket, which each still continues to claim,* and this occasion, which the presence of royalty, of so many nobles of the court, so many dignitaries of the Church, and such a concourse of the people was likely to make brilliant in the highest degree, were chosen by Abelard for the scene of his public controversy. He asked that this splendid gathering should become a council to hear his defence of the

* Among the treasures of the cathedral are the ecclesiastical robes of Becket, and the altar at which he ministered remains.

faith and his personal vindication. The zealots of his party, at the head of whom, perhaps, was the famous Arnold of Brescia,* a fugitive from persecution in Italy, urged him on with their rash persuasions. Bernard was not quite at ease; for he had some differences with the bishops around Paris which prejudiced his cause. He went to work at once, however, with shrewdness and energy, to create an opinion in his own favor, and to pack the council with his own friends, wrote letters in all directions, had his emissaries busy with the doubtful, and consented even to meet in person the arch-heretic on the field of his trial. The pious sentences of the Psalmist and the Saviour, which he went up to Sens humbly repeating, seem more suitable to the case of his adversary than to his own. It was for the accused rather than the accuser to say, "It shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak."

Few notices of this important Council have come down to us. We learn its doings from the report of Bernard's party, and not from official documents. If we may believe these, Abelard's whole demeanor justified the sentence which had been previously determined. The saint, they say, walked with downcast eyes, with sad countenance, coarsely clad, dispensing benedictions to the kneeling crowds, who saw heavenly meekness and love in his humility. The heretic, unbroken by suffering, marched with head erect, with haughty mien, frightening by his majestic glance those who dared to gaze curiously at him. Even the magnificent ceremonies of the first day, given up to processions and music and panegyric upon the martyrs, skilfully contrived to dazzle the multitude and fasten them to the splendid ritual of the Church, were less remarkable than the contrast between these two great men, which forced itself upon the eyes of all the spectators. And on the second day, the day of trial, it was evident enough that Abelard stood before his rival as a condemned criminal before his prosecutor. Solemnly, in the great church of St. Stephen, around the king on his throne, the princes and prelates, priests and scholars, — the crowd behind filling all the aisles, — waited

* Arnold of Brescia is one of those early reformers to whom history has never done justice. He was the Luther of the twelfth century.

almost breathlessly for the heretic to appear. He passed on toward the altar, but stopped midway, as he saw in the pulpit before him Bernard holding in his hand the guilty volumes. Seventeen heretical doctrines had been selected by the keen accuser. The attending clerk began in a loud voice to read them. Suddenly Abelard bade him desist, protested angrily that he would hear no further, that he "appealed to the Pope," and disappeared from the assembly. Whether it was by design, or from a sudden impulse of fear, that Abelard thus acted, we have no means of knowing. It is likely that he had resolved beforehand, if, like Paul at Jerusalem, he should find no hope of justice from his own people, to carry his appeal at last to Rome.

The Council at first were in consternation. Should they go on and sentence one who had transferred his cause to the higher tribunal? Could they anticipate the judgment of the Lateran? Many doubted, some feared; but Bernard overruled all scruples by pleading the disgrace of thus leaving the victory to the heretic. On the following days the various counts were taken up, discussed, and finally condemned, to the number of fourteen. It was decreed, on the ground of garbled extracts and forced constructions, that the accused had taught heresy, in denying, like Sabellius, the doctrine of a Trinity of persons; in denying, like Nestorius, that the Christ is a person of the Trinity; in denying, like Pelagius, the doctrine of special saving grace; in asserting that Jesus saves by his example and his life more than by his vicarious sacrifice; in asserting that God cannot prevent evil; and in teaching that sin is rather in the will than in the acts of men, and that ignorance is not sin. The discussions were not violent, nor was any penalty pronounced against the offender. There was no Te Deum sung when the laudable task was finished. Yet Bernard aimed here a blow which should destroy the influence of his foe, and make it impossible for him to regain in the Church the rank of a master. He had yet to deal with the pending appeal to Rome, and with the apologies for Abelard, which were not few nor contemptible. The sentence of the Council might satisfy the bishops, but it could not silence the scholars of the Church.

Abelard had many friends at Rome. An eminent Cardinal of the Sacred College, who, four years later, became Celestine II., was his steadfast defender. The scholars might be expected to favor his cause. But the flatteries, the persuasions, the warnings, the persistent entreaties, the magical authority of the monk of Clairvaux, were greater at Rome than all the influences which supported the cause of his rival. In vain Heloise could show the sound and orthodox confession which her friend had prepared for her use. In vain a young student * could smite with his sarcasms the solid fame of the guardian of orthodoxy, and show that Bernard more even than Abelard was false to Scripture and to truth, — could ridicule the Council as an assembly of stupid sots, and their leader as a malicious plotter. Bernard took care that the Pope should so decide that the unity of the Church should stand, and an undivided front be shown against this, as against every heresy. A double mandate came from the Papal palace; — one order, forbidding Abelard to teach in public, and another secret order, condemning his books to be burned, and commanding his imprisonment. In this last order, Arnold of Brescia was joined.

Before this decision was made known in France, Abelard had commenced his journey to Rome. It had for him all the toil, with none of the joy, of a pilgrimage. A few days of travel brought him to that famous monastery of the Benedictines, the ruins of which still invite the voyager off from his beaten track. Cluny had been for two centuries the home of learning, the refuge of misfortune, the nursery of temperate piety. Its present Abbot, Peter the Venerable, was a father in the Church beloved for his virtues, respected for his scholarship, and everywhere praised for his serene and pacific charity.† The brotherhood of Cluny, under his control, were not severe ascetics, and their Abbot was no friend to the rigid Bernard. Here Abelard stopped for some days to rest, and here first learned that public decision of Rome concerning his heresy which made his farther journey needless. It required no long argu-

* Peter Berenger, the namesake and pupil of Abelard, whose brilliant defence of his teacher excited the admiration of Europe, became afterwards one of the most bitter foes of the great philosopher.

† The noble remark of Peter in his letter to Bernard is, "The rule of St. Benedict is subordinate to the rule of charity."

ment to reconcile the weary and desponding sufferer to his inevitable fate. Cluny was not so much his prison as his happy retreat, where he might now finish the remnant of his checkered and broken career. Waiving his rank as an abbot, and dismissing his pride of philosophy, he enrolled himself with the brethren of the convent, gave himself to the quiet routine of a cloistral life, and humbled himself to the place of a servant. They began to celebrate Abelard's piety,—to tell how the former heretic was now a saint, and the once proud scholar was a model of the Christian beatitudes. To the eyes of his brethren he seemed to have died to all fleshly lusts, to all worldly ambition. Bernard had already been satisfied by the new confession of faith which misfortune had extorted, and the good Abbot Peter was now edified by the spectacle of a converted and experienced Christian. How delusive these appearances were, the great work of Abelard on the Scholastic Philosophy, to which he here gave the finishing touches, proves. In his self-communing, the unconquerable pride still breaks forth; he defies the envious world, asserts the truth of his lessons, predicts that the future will avenge his fame and recognize his power. The victim, uncrowned and defeated, will be lifted hereafter to his rightful place, and the world shall in him know the vindicator of science and the prophet of freedom. His age has ungratefully rejected him, but humanity shall accept and honor him.*

A few months of struggle with disease and pain were yet left to him. He spent them in constant literary labor. Friends waited to write from his dictation, and to hear the fragments of his wisdom. For better air, he was sent to the priory of St. Marcellus, where they vainly hoped that his waning force might be revived. His death, which took place here, on the 21st of April, 1142, was tranquil, and seemed triumphant. We need not follow the fortune of his relics, the history of which is not a little curious, or tell of the sentimental letters which passed between the Abbot of Cluny and the Abbess of Paraclete, or of the miracles observed when the

* It has been more than once remarked, that, though Abelard seemed to have retracted his heresies, yet no one of the offensive opinions or passages was expurgated from his writings. His secret reservation anticipated the "e pur si muove" of Galileo

tomb from time to time has been opened. After many changes, the translations of piety and the fury of revolutions, the remains of the philosopher and of her who shared his truest affection rest where the great and the wise and the holy of the land are laid down together.

Abelard's character is made up of contrasts, and is not easy to be analyzed. He was a man to win respect and kindle enthusiasm, but not one to be deeply loved, or thoroughly understood. His friends were fascinated by his genius more than they were drawn by his kindliness. In him the gifts of mind towered so high above the graces of heart, that his affections, if true and tender, had no chance to prove themselves so. That he was a leader by natural right, all allowed. That he was ambitious, arrogant, and haughty, men forgot in the splendor of his intellectual daring. He vindicated his conceit by his marvellous achievements. His thirst for knowledge was the compensation for his lack of reverence, and his diligent searching was the complement of his defective prayer. Men saw that he who reasoned about mysteries was not a scoffing iconoclast, but a steadfast student of wisdom. Men knew that he who claimed to dictate was constant to hear the truth above him. If they beheld him sometimes timid before men, they saw him always brave before opinions. He was intellectually the boldest of men. He knew no proper bound to investigation, no just hinderance to inquiry. There was no dogma too sacred to be tried by his reason, no theme too high to be brought into his discussion.

Like all innovators, Abelard was arbitrary and impatient of contradiction. Prudence of thought or word or action was not a virtue with him. He could command, but he could not manage, his followers. While his scrutiny was close, so that no abuse escaped his eye, he wanted tact to deal with abuses, and could only expose, but not correct them. With a critical intellect, he had not practical skill, — not even skill to hide his own defects of temper. His enemies believed that he was jealous, his friends mourned that he was heedless. Ready for any enterprise, he was unequal to any crisis. Love of command made him intolerant of all rivalry, and love of renown led him into needless quarrels; yet none could accuse him of

the meaner forms of selfishness, — of avarice, cunning, or vindictiveness. He might be insolent, but he was not malicious. His anger might be easily aroused, but hatred did not find place in his heart. They called him fickle, in his frequent changes from the school to the cloister, and the cloister to the school. The last impression of his life, on the contrary, is that of a steady and loyal devotion to learning and philosophy, which the most severe calamities could not break.

His industry was extraordinary. It did not, indeed, show itself in such voluminous writings as those of the Schoolmen, who were later interpreters of the new science which Abelard announced, but rather in the study of the Greek philosophers and the Christian Fathers. His works all together make but a single quarto, while many folios are the marvellous monument of some who were formed by his influence. Abelard was rather a reader and a critic, than the expositor of a new theory. His labor was rather in arranging the materials for controversy, than in recording its results and fruits. His method of teaching was to cite, to review, to discuss what earlier writers had maintained, and then to give with brevity his own decision. His books are therefore more like judgments than like treatises, — fragmentary opinions rather than a digested system.

Abelard was the founder, though not the organizer, of a new school both in philosophy and theology. The method and the direction which learning took in the subsequent age were his in the beginning. The great teachers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were virtually his pupils. The "Master of Sentences" was wont to say that Abelard's "*Sic et Non*" was his breviary. Even those who opposed his theories confessed their indebtedness to him. The Realists made use of the arms which the first champion of the Nominalists furnished. It was the crime of Abelard that he reconciled the Gospel with Aristotle, and converted heathen maxims into Christian dogmas. But in the next century, that great light of the Catholic Church, whose works are still the text-book of faith to all the brotherhood of Rome, St. Thomas Aquinas, proved, as a strict follower of him who taught in Paris before, that Aristotle was orthodox; — and all the people said, Amen!

Not much can be said in praise of the style of Abelard's philosophical writings. It is as good as the style of his age, but that was hard, dry, unadorned, and uninspired. The thought is exact enough, but the words are abstract and the sentences obscure in their prolixity. It needed his voice and manner to make his ideas attractive. He wrote at a time when the Latin tongue had reached the climax of ruggedness and corruption. Except in his correspondence, and in a few passages of his *Historia Calamitatum*, we look in vain for that nervous brilliancy which marks the pleading of Jerome of Bethlehem, or that graceful elegance which brings Erasmus of Rotterdam close to the golden age of Roman letters. To both these remarkable men he bears resemblance, as well in the points of his character as in the circumstances of his life. The same pedantry, vanity, and arrogance, the same consciousness of power, the same dread of persecution, which we have marked in him, we find in them as strikingly exemplified. As a scholar he was hardly their inferior. But as a writer he must yield to them the palm.

A candid examination of his writings will not justify the stigma of heresy which was fastened to the name of Abelard. On the contrary, his opinions are quite as orthodox as the necessities of sainthood require. It is his spirit, and not his dogma, which is heretical. His crime was that he would be a prophet, and not a priest; that he made men think, when he should have made them worship. He might be loyal, yet his influence was dangerous. Bernard could see latent heresy and the promise of a rebellion, even where the present conclusion accorded with established formulas. The *discussion itself*, not merely its issue, was sinful. The genius of the teacher was revolutionary, though its work might not be perfected in many ages. Abelard's condemnation was the beginning of that warfare of the Church with rationalism, the end of which is not yet. It was the opening of that sharp controversy of reason with authority, of learning with faith, which has separated for the modern Church what the tendencies of the ancient Church would have happily joined. It marks the time when the Church distinctly announces itself as the enemy of freedom, in thought not less than in action. The sentence

of Abelard is the complement to the submission of Henry of Germany. Science, as well as the state, must now bend to the ecclesiastic sway. The school, with the court, must consent to be an appendage to the altar and the cloister. Nay, the cloister itself must lose its scholastic glories, and must limit hereafter its studies to the measure of its symbols and its prayers. The renown of the old Benedictines shall wane before the zeal of the followers of St. Dominic, and before the austerities of the brethren of St. Francis. The preachers and the friars shall silence the scholars and vex the colleges. Abelard, though not himself a martyr like those whom the Inquisition murdered, was the pioneer of the noblest martyrs, the martyrs of knowledge and light and liberty. His sentence prophesied the scattering of Wickliffe's ashes, the burning of Huss on the plain of Constance, the awful day of St. Bartholomew, the exile of Grotius, and the prison of Galileo, as much as his teaching prophesied the philosophy of Pascal, of Descartes, and of Francis Bacon.

Abelard's life had not, it may seem to us, an heroic close. He died, they say, humiliated and repentant, undoing that work of reform which at best he had only half completed. But, with all his reverses, he had a nobler hope than Bernard with all his successes. The busy guardian of the Church could see only trouble for the flock of Christ, when his strong arm should fall from its defence, — only fear and danger in the future. The philosophic scholar could find consolation in the assurance that disciples had not forgotten the word of their master, and that the truth which he had declared would not die with him. The sadness of Bernard was all in the prospect; the sadness of Abelard was all in the retrospect. The present victory of the one was darkened by the shadow of coming heresies and growing scandals; the present defeat of the other was brightened by the confidence that the emancipation of thought was near to its dawning. He might be weak; he might be forsaken. But he knew that the encounter of truth with falsehood should come; that champions should arise for her; that the Almighty was on her side; that now she might be bound, but the bonds could not hold for ever; that against policies and stratagems and licensings of the Church her word should

stand and her triumph be sealed. The victories of science in this latter day are proving, even more than the homage of a nation at his tomb, how wise was the hope of the defeated scholar, how much wiser than the anathemas of the zealot of the twelfth century. The majestic periods of the Areopagitica of Milton are the expression of the sufficient comfort of Abelard's last years.

We cannot better close this imperfect sketch than by translating a passage from M. Cousin's Introduction to the unpublished works of Abelard, in which with admirable precision he states the philosophic position and influence of this philosopher and scholar.

"A hero of romance in the Church, a man of refinement in a barbarous age, a chief of a school, and almost a martyr for opinion's sake, everything united to make of Abelard an extraordinary person. But of all his claims, that which gives him a special place in the history of the human soul is the invention of a new philosophical system, and the application of this system, and, in general, of philosophy, to theology. Doubtless we can find, before Abelard, some rare examples of such an application, perilous, but useful, even in its fragments, to the progress of reason. But it was Abelard that erected it into a *principle;* and it was he, therefore, who most contributed to found scholasticism; for scholasticism is nothing else than this. From the time of Charlemagne, and even before, in many places a little grammar and logic were taught, and religious teaching was not lacking; but this teaching was limited to a more or less regular exposition of the sacred dogmas; it was enough for faith, but did not fructify the understanding. Only the introduction of dialectics into theology could arouse that controversial spirit, which is at once the vice and the glory of scholasticism. Abelard is the principal author of this introduction; he is therefore the chief founder of mediæval philosophy; so that France has furnished to Europe both the scholasticism of the twelfth century by Abelard, and in Descartes at the beginning of the seventeenth century the destroyer of this very scholasticism and the father of modern philosophy. In this there is no inconsistency; for the same spirit which had raised ordinary religious teaching to the systematic and rational form which is called scholasticism, could readily go further, and produce philosophy properly so called. The same land has fitly produced at some ages of distance apart Abelard and Descartes; and between these two men we may remark, along with many differences, a striking resemblance. Abelard endeavored to make himself fully conversant with the only thing that in his age could be studied, — *theology;* Descartes investigated what in his age might

best be studied, — *man and nature*. The latter recognized no authority but reason; while the former undertook to carry reason over into authority. Both doubt, both examine, both wish to understand all that they can, and to be satisfied only by evidence, — a common temper which they borrow from the French mind, and a fundamental trait which brings with it many minor marks of resemblance; for instance, that clearness of speech which comes spontaneously from clearness and precision of ideas. Add to this, that Abelard and Descartes are not only Frenchmen, but that they belong to the same province, to that Brittany whose people are distinguished by so quick a sentiment of freedom and such strong personality. Hence, in these two illustrious compatriots, with their natural originality, with their disposition to admire but moderately what had been done before them and what was doing in their own time, we find independence pushed often to the quarrelsome spirit, confidence in their own strength and contempt of their adversaries, more consistency than weight in their opinions, more sagacity than breadth, more vigor in the stamp of mind and temper than elevation and profoundness in thought, more ingenuity than common sense. In fine, they are fruitful in their own notions rather than lifted to universal reason, obstinate, venturesome, radical, revolutionary."

ART. VI. — *The History and Antiquities of Boston, and the Villages of Skirbeck, Fishtoft, Freiston, Butterwick, Benington, Leverton, Leake, and Wrangle; comprising the Hundred of Skirbeck, in the County of Lincoln. Including also a History of the East, West, and Wildmore Fens, and Copious Notices of the Holland or Haut-Huntre Fen; a History of the River Witham; the Biography of celebrated Persons, Natives of, or connected with, the Neighborhood; Sketches of the Geology, Natural History, Botany, and Agriculture of the District; a very extensive Collection of Archaisms and Provincial Words, Local Dialect, Phrases, Proverbs, Omens, Superstitions, etc.* By PISHEY THOMPSON. Illustrated with one hundred Engravings. Boston: John Noble, Jr. 1856. 8vo. pp. 824.

WE have had much to say in our pages about the value, the charm, the richness of local histories, the claims of their authors to lasting and growing gratitude, and their essential

services to the historiographer of nations and eras, in furnishing particulars for generalization, and in determining the due tone, shading, and perspective of the picture designed to comprehend a broad extent of time or territory. Let our readers intensify whatever has been thus said to the utmost point which their idea of a book's capacity can reach, and they will only thus form an adequate conception of the volume before us. This high grade of interest and merit is due equally to the author and to the subject. The author has made this the work of a lifetime. He began to collect his materials in 1804, and in 1820 published a volume, entitled "Collections for a Topographical and Historical Account of Boston, and the Hundred of Skirbeck, in the County of Lincoln." During a residence of twenty-seven years in the United States, he was still employed in gathering such materials as could be obtained on this side of the Atlantic. On his return to England, in 1846, he found that a new edition of his former work was called for, and he determined to make it as thorough and comprehensive as possible. The present work is the result of this purpose, carried into execution by the special labor of ten years, added to the researches of the previous forty. Thus we have the results of more than half a century of enlightened, judicious, and diligent toil condensed in this massive and elegant volume.

Mr. Thompson was fortunate in his subject. In population and business the Boston of the Old World bears but an insignificant proportion to her sister city of the same name in the New; but in the materials of history the proportion is much more than reversed. Traditions and ruins that date back at least as far as the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar form the dim and semi-mythical background of the narrative, while from the Norman conquest downward every age has left some vestiges of itself, — names, foundations, guilds, charities, architectural monuments, municipal customs, — to be traced in the town as it is. The cumulative power of centuries is profoundly felt as we turn over these pages, and then reflect that time has wrought the same work for every rood of ground in our mother country, constituting the elements of substantial greatness in every dimension, heaping up wealth

from the surplus earnings of every year's industry, creating permanent funds for almost every conceivable purpose of utility and beneficence, multiplying enduring public works and institutions indurated by immemorial prescription, covering the soil with structures whose costly foundations could have been laid only by the treasured resources of long antecedent generations, and whose successive additions and repairs far transcend the ordinary outlay of the most magnificent edifices in a new country. In this last particular alone, the town of Boston contains probably a much larger number of buildings deserving special commemoration than could be found in the entire State of Massachusetts. Mr. Thompson's plan embraces the most generous scope, and seems to have left no opening for the labors of any successor in the same field, till years shall have furnished a fresh supply of materials. In addition to a minute detail of the antiquities, history, geography, and topography of the town and the whole circumjacent region, he has given us ably and thoroughly written chapters on its geology, natural history, and archaisms, under the last head including provincialisms of speech, and local proverbs, customs, and superstitions. To these he has added the genealogies of all the principal families, and biographies of distinguished residents and natives of Boston and its vicinity. He furnishes also copious extracts from the municipal records, statistics of trade and manufactures, prices, rates and amounts of taxation, and numerous other particulars which appertain not merely to the history of that one locality, but are often the best exponents of the general condition of the country at their respective periods.

The mechanical execution of the work is in every respect worthy of its contents. The style of typography is such as is rarely issued except from the best English presses, and in point of accuracy leaves nothing to be desired. The engravings are all excellent in their kind, and the drawings on wood are as clear and firm in outline and detail as if they had been cut in steel. Such a book it is a luxury to possess and examine, in the throng of cheaply and tawdrily printed and illustrated works which are hardly worth the cost of binding.

The earliest historical notice of Boston occurs in an old

Saxon chronicle, in which it is said that "St. Botolph built a monastery here, A. D. 654, upon a desert piece of ground given him for that purpose by Ethelmund, king of the South Angles"; and though this statement has been riddled through and through by sceptical antiquaries, we think it beyond doubt that at some obscure period of British history a pious monk named Botolph built a monastery somewhere in that neighborhood, that this religious house became the nucleus of a growing population, and that, with the decline of reverence in general and a special obtuseness as to the merits of the Saxon saint, the cluster of dwellings which rejoiced in the designation of St. Botolph's town, by successive abbreviations, became Boston. In process of time it was made the site of several wealthy ecclesiastical establishments, which were dissolved by Henry VIII., who granted the fee of their lands to the town, then first incorporated as a free borough. Prior to this period it had a flourishing trade, especially in wool and leather, and was extensively engaged as early as the twelfth century in the manufacture of woollen cloth. We find during that century traces of some of the less reputable habits of trade, — "priscæ vestigia fraudis," — which have not yet become obsolete. Some of the king's justiciaries came to Boston to seize certain cloths of less than statutable width; but the merchants succeeded in bribing the ministers of justice to leave the cloth in their hands, to the detriment of their purchasers. About the same time, we find a statute which, if we are rightly informed, might not unaptly be enacted in our own land and day, ordering "that dyed cloths should be of equal quality throughout, and that the merchants who sold such goods should not hang up red or black cloths at their windows, nor darken them by penthouses, to prevent any from having a good light in buying their cloths." In 1205, of a tax of one fifteenth levied on goods in the hands of merchants, London paid £836, and Boston, being then in relative importance the second port in the kingdom, paid £780. At this time the town was surrounded by a wall, no vestiges of which can now be seen, but which has left evidences of its former existence in the names of several streets derived from the gates at which they terminated, as Bargate, Wormgate. The in-

habitants of the town were probably early driven to the sea by the impracticability of land-carriage; for the whole surrounding country was an undrained marsh or fen, exposed to frequent and disastrous inundations, and with causeways so ill-constructed, or so ruinous, that travellers were often drowned on the "king's highway." Carriages of course were out of the question, and pack-horses were deemed a less safe conveyance for goods than human shoulders. Thus, as in such numerous instances in all time, the very restrictions and disabilities which seemed insurmountable were the motives and stimulants to bolder and more lucrative enterprise than would else have been initiated.

Camden, writing in 1607, says of Boston: —

"Where the river Witham, enclosed on both sides with artificial banks, runs with a full stream into the sea, stands the flourishing town of Boston, more truly Botolph's town, for it took that name, as Bede testifies, from Botolph, a pious Saxon, who had a monastery at Icanhoe. It is a famous town, and built on both sides the river Witham, over which there is a very high wooden bridge; it has a commodious and well-frequented haven, a great market, a beautiful and large church, the tower of which is very high, and does as it were salute travellers at a great distance, and direct mariners. It was miserably ruined in Edward I.'s reign; for in that degenerate age, and universal corruption of manners throughout the kingdom, certain warlike men, whilst a tournament was proclaiming at fair-time, came under the disguise of monks and canons, set the town on fire in many places, broke in upon the merchants with sudden violence, and carried away many things, but burned more: insomuch that our historians write (as the ancients did of Corinth when it was demolished) that veins of gold and silver ran mixed together in one common current. Their ringleader, Robert Chamberlain, after he had confessed the fact, and detested the crime, was hanged; but could not by any means be brought to discover his accomplices. However, Boston recovered itself again, and a staple for wool, which they call Woolstaple, was here settled; which very much enriched it, and drew hither the merchants of the Hanse Company, who fixed here their guild. At this time it is a fair-built, and a trading rich town; for the inhabitants apply themselves wholly to merchandise and grazing." — *Camden's Britannia*, Gibson's ed. (London, 1695), p. 462.

The church of St. Botolph, mentioned by Camden, is the

most spacious and magnificent parish church in the kingdom. It stands on the site of an earlier church, of which we find mention in 1090. The foundation of the present tower was laid in 1309, and the nave, aisles, and a part of the chancel are believed to have been erected in the reign of Edward III. In 1843, the edifice having become much dilapidated, arrangements were made for effecting the needed repairs, which occupied a period of not less than ten years, at the cost of nearly £ 11,000. The entire building is 282 feet in length, 99 feet in breadth, with a steeple 292 feet high. Mr. Thompson enters into the most minute and elaborate detail with reference to this church, and gives us numerous drawings of its exterior aspects, its sepulchral monuments, its windows, interior *coup d'œil*, ceiling, and organ. Without resort to other than verbal painting, we can give no idea of so vast and venerable a structure within reasonable limits. But there is one portion of it in which we have a special interest. Our readers need not to be reminded that Rev. John Cotton, after having held, for the space of twenty years, the vicariate of St. Botolph's, became an exile for conscience' sake, and, as a Christian teacher and pastor in our own Boston, was largely and beneficently influential in the ordering alike of our ecclesiastical polity and of our humble essays at organized self-government. Mr. Thompson has copied from Drake's History of our Boston a woodcut, representing the low, unadorned shed, far beneath the proportions and dignity of a barn, in which he dispensed the word of life to his New England flock. In 1854, at the instance of Mr. Thompson, Rev. George Beatson Blenkin, the present vicar of St. Botolph's, wrote to Hon. Edward Everett, suggesting that the descendants of John Cotton, (among whom are the Everett family and many other of our influential New England families,) and such persons as might be disposed to unite with them, should defray the expense of restoring a chapel in the ancient church, to be called the Cotton Chapel, and to be held sacred to the memory of the holy man from whom it should derive its name. The suggestion was cordially received, and the sum of nearly £ 600 was raised for the purpose, George Peabody, with characteristic generosity, being the largest subscriber. Of the apartment designated for this use Mr. Thompson gives the following account.

"The chapel on the west side of the porch opens into the nave through two arches, the lower parts of which are fitted with a neat wooden screen, and are now [i. e. prior to the restoration] used as a vestry and record-room; it is traditionally called the Founder's Chapel, we do not know upon what authority. It was formerly used for the teaching of the school founded by Mr. John Laughton, in 1707. The vestry-books, &c., are now contained in a fine old oak-chest." — p. 188.

The large and handsome window at the western end of this chapel has been filled with glass stained in appropriate devices. The other windows have been repaired, the floor levelled and relaid, the walls scraped and cleaned, and the ceiling renewed. A monumental tablet of marble has been erected, with the following inscription, whose elegant Latinity and discriminating panegyric are due to the good judgment that designated Mr. Everett for the pious office of its preparation: * —

IN PERPETUAM **JOHANNIS COTTONI** MEMORIAM,
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ ANTIQUÆ BOSTONIENSIS
MULTOS PER ANNOS, REGNANTIBUS JACOBO ET CAROLO PRIMO,
VICARII GRAVIS, DISERTI, LABORIOSI;
DEIN PROPTER RES SACRAS IN PATRIA MISERE TURBATAS,
NOVIS SEDIBUS IN NOVO ORBE QUÆSITIS,
ECCLESIÆ PRIMARIÆ **BOSTONIÆ** NOV-ANGLORUM,
NOMEN HOC VENERABILE
A BOSTONIA HAC PRISCA BRITANNICA
IN COTTONI HONOREM DEDUCENTIS,
USQUE AD FINEM VITÆ SUMMA LAUDE,
SUMMAQUE IN REBUS TAM HUMANIS QUAM DIVINIS AUCTORITATE,
PASTORIS ET DOCTORIS;
ANNIS CCXXV POST MIGRATIONEM EJUS PERACTIS,
PROGNATI EJUS CIVESQUE BOSTONIENSES AMERICANI,
A FRATRIBUS ANGLICIS AD HOC PIUM MUNUS PROVOCATI,
NE VIRI EXIMII NOMEN,
UTRIUSQUE ORBIS DESIDERII ET DECORIS,
DIUTIUS A Ttemplo NOBILI EXULARET,
IN QUO PER TOT ANNOS ORACULA DIVINA
DILIGENTER DOCTE SANCTEQUE ENUNTIAVISSET,
HOC SACELLUM RESTAURANDUM ET HANC TABULAM PONENDAM,
ANNO SALUTIS RECUPERATÆ CIↃIↃCCCLV,
LIBENTER GRATE CURAVERUNT.

* This chapel, on the completion of the repairs, was opened, with fitting rites, religious and festal, on the 17th of August, 1857. Several distinguished Americans were present, and made appropriate speeches, *more patrio*.

In the long line of vicars of the old church, of whom we have a complete catalogue for five centuries and a half, we find not one other name of enduring reputation, and but three that seem to have attained any extended fame in their own times. Richard Flemyng (1409–20) is mentioned by his contemporary Ingulphus "as an excellent doctor of holy theology." His talents were enlisted successively on both sides of the great controversy of the day, he having been first a zealous defender, and afterward an equally zealous antagonist, of the doctrines of Wickliffe. He became Bishop of Lincoln, and founded Lincoln College, Oxford. Anthony Tuckney, (1633–60,) John Cotton's kinsman and immediate successor, was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and one of the most learned and eminent among the clergy of his generation. He was, successively, Master of Emanuel College, Master of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. His successor, Obadiah Howe, (1660–83,) was the author of several controversial and other works of marked ability. It was said of him by an opponent, "that he was a person of considerable parts and learning, but thought so most by himself."

Of ecclesiastical edifices in Boston, not under the control of the national Church, the principal is the Wesleyan Centenary Chapel, the most spacious and elegant Dissenters' chapel in Lincolnshire, and exceeded by few in the kingdom. It seats 2,300 persons, and was erected at a cost of £11,000. Its front presents a massive Ionic colonnade, winged by two heavy square towers but little higher than the main building. Though with great beauty of finish, it is built in a style suggestive of secular rather than of sacred uses; and but for the name it bears, we should take it for a market-house or a town-hall. Next to this in dimensions and costliness, thoroughly church-like in its architecture, and with a lofty tower and spire at its northwest corner, is the Congregational Church. We have in this volume, also, views and descriptions of a very beautiful Chapel of Ease under the auspices of the vicariate, a plain but symmetrical Unitarian Chapel, a somewhat gaudy General Baptists' Chapel, with that mingling of orders which is often stigmatized as peculiarly American, and

Salem Chapel, occupied by the Particular Baptists, and innocent equally of architectural taste and the pretence to it. Several smaller chapels are mentioned, among others, one belonging to the "Primitive Methodists, or Ranters." The population of the town in 1851 was 14,997, and the number of sittings in the various places of worship can fall but little, if any, short of the number of persons capable at any one time of attending religious services.

The river Witham divides the town into two nearly equal parts. It is, in fact, or would be among our American rivers, but an insignificant stream, being at Boston, only five miles from the sea, less than thirty yards wide. Obstructions to its navigation had been suffered to accumulate unheeded, till in the last century it had ceased to be navigable. The channel has recently been cleared, and vessels of 300 tons can now be laden at Boston, whence small steamers and barges ply to Lincoln, twenty-eight miles farther up the stream. In 1847, Boston had of registered vessels 186, measuring 8,768 tons. Its chief imports are Baltic produce, coal, and manufactured goods; its exports, oats, wool, and woad, which last-named article of commerce is very extensively produced in this vicinity.

"A singular circumstance has long been noticed respecting certain tides in the Witham and the Welland, called 'Bird Tides.' These occur annually about midsummer, and are almost always much lower than any others throughout the year, leaving the green marshes on the borders of these rivers free from any visitation of the tidal waters, although they are mostly more or less covered by the spring-tides at all other seasons. The occurrence of these low tides about the time when the numerous sea and land birds that frequent these marshes are hatching their eggs there, thus giving them time to perfect that operation without the destructive intervention of the salt water, has caused the country people to say, that '*the tides are lower at that season in order that the birds may hatch and raise their young.*' No doubt the success of the latter operation is secured by the smallness of these tides; and perhaps an adequate cause for their usual regular occurrence may be found in the almost entire absence of high winds, and a prevalence of calm, sultry weather, at the annual period of the Bird Tides. These small tides are noticeable, we believe, very generally throughout the borders of the estuary." — p. 367.

In an American town, or rather city, (for we have no remaining *towns* so large,) of fifteen thousand inhabitants thus situated on both sides of a narrow stream, we might very probably see half a dozen fragile plank bridges, in various stages of decay. We cannot learn that Boston has more than one bridge; but that is a noteworthy structure, resting upon a single arch of cast-iron, which exceeds in weight two hundred tons, and which has the foundation of its abutments four feet below the deepest part of the bed of the river. The entire cost of building this bridge was nearly £ 22,000. What a contrast to the tremulous and rotting cobwork which, not only on our routes of common travel, but even on our railways, often spans rapid streams and precipitous ravines, and whose architects and superintendents enable us to conceive of the Hindoo Thugs — murderers by profession — as a possible sect! *

Hardly anything in Mr. Thompson's book has interested us equally with the engravings of various quaint old houses, most of which still nestle unchanged in the heart of the town, while others were not permitted to yield place to modern edifices till, like venerated ancestral forms, they had left their likenesses for a generation to come. There is, for instance, the tavern in which Cromwell slept on the night before the battle of Winceby, and it looks as if it held as many labyrinthal passages and recesses inaccessible to daylight as were in the multiform and unfathomable nature of the great soldier-statesman. There is the house where John Fox was born, and we can hardly conceive that it should not by its almost fearful sombreness have shaped the features of even its infant nurseling into the savage grimness which marks the portraits of the old martyrologist, and have fostered that love of the horrible which seems to have been his passion and his joy. There is the vicarage where John Cotton lived, — it was taken down in 1850, and well it might be; for it had an antique majesty

* Is this too strong language in view of facts familiarly known? It was not a solitary or unmatched fact, which appeared on the inquest upon the bodies of those recently murdered on the New York Central Railroad, near Utica, — that the local functionaries of the railway had for several days been fully aware of the decayed and perilous condition of the bridge whose failure was thus fatal.

and solemnity, which made it an ill-befitting residence in an age when the last vestiges of stately ceremoniousness are disappearing from the dress, mien, and manners of our times. We might multiply our specifications; but without the engravings it is vain for us to attempt the representation of the broad, low lattices, the open rafters and oaken arches running among the brick and stone work, the frowning gables, and the masses of deep shadow, which, variously and lawlessly combined, render each of these edifices unique and profoundly impressive. Alternating with them, the Sessions-House, the Athenæum, the New Assembly Rooms, and other modern buildings for various uses, in the pride of faultless symmetry and sumptuous ornament, look even mean and paltry, as if they had no history and could never hold a history. There is, indeed, this distinction between the architectural monuments of a long-past age and the more normal structures of our own, that whatever human presences have once dwelt in the former seem lodged there for ever, while nothing of human character adheres to the latter, — they acquire no personality, but are as public and common as the streets over which they frown.

Among the curious matters presented to the reader are numerous extracts from the Corporation Records and the Parish Registers. In 1575, an ordinance is passed requiring "Brewers, before they tunne their ale and beer, to send for the ale-tunners to taste the same, to see that it is good wholesome drink." In 1549, it is forbidden to any "coal-laden ship to sell coal upon the water, out of the ship, above the price fixed by the Mayor." In 1655, it is ordered that "upon any day of solemn rejoicing, only 40 *s.* was to be spent." At the close of the sixteenth century, "when any stranger brought goods or victuals of any kind by ship for sale, the Mayor fixed the price at which the *freemen* should, for three days, purchase them for their own use, after which they and non-freemen purchased upon the best terms they could." In 1583, it is made necessary for "every Mayor, at the expiration of his mayoralty, to pay over the ballance of his account, or be committed to prison till it is paid." In 1590, we find "the Mayor allowed a hogshead of wine for his better provision of house-keepynge." In 1601, it is "ordered, that there be given to Sir Thomas Mon-

son, knight, for the redeeming of his love and friendship to this Corporation, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; *because it cannot be otherwise gotten or obtained*, though many means by friends hathe heretofore been used for the same." In 1557, it is "ordered, that if any alderman swear, either by the masse, or any other part or member of God, in the Hall, or any other place, he shall pay for every othe so taken, ii *d.*; and lykewyse every one of the Common Council shall paye for every lyke defaute, i *d.*" We make no comments; but the question may suggest itself as to these analects, taken from the successive pages of excerpts arranged in the alphabetical order of subjects, whether as regards municipal economy and the accountableness of men in power and trust the former times were not better than our own. On the Parish Register for 1795, we find admiring mention of perhaps the largest family on record out of the purlieus of *simultaneous* polygamy. "William Mason, labourer, *father of forty-six children*, born in wedlock by five wives; buried 16th March, aged seventy-two."

In the glossary of provincialisms, we find very many that are completely naturalized in and around our own Boston, thus indicating the large contributions to the early stock of our own population derived from our elder name-sister. We take the following, — few from among many, — in the order in which they meet our eye. "Apple-pie-order." "Argufy." "Bannisters. — The rails or balustrade of a staircase." "Chokfull." "Chunky. — Short; thick; clumsy in shape and person." "Crease. — A mark made in paper by being folded, or in a garment by being sat upon." "Down in the mouth." "Father long-legs. — The slender, long-legged crane-fly." "Good mind. — A strong inclination to do anything." "Heft." "High time." "Hitch on." "Jabber." "Keeping-room." "Kindling. — Materials for lighting a fire." "Mash-tub." "May-be." "Out-and-out." "Quality. — Gentry." "Right up and down." "Scamp." "Stumpy." "Tip over." "Unlicked. — Unpolished." "Water *bewitched*. — Weak tea, punch, &c." "Wile away. — To *wile away* the time; beguile it."

Among the proverbial sayings of old Boston we recognize not a few which we had supposed indigenous to our own soil.

Such are the following: — "He 's in the wrong box." "It rains cats and dogs." "I'll go through thick and thin for you." "As dead as a door-nail."

Of omens respecting the weather, the short list given by Mr. Thompson corresponds point by point to the popular, but, as we believe, untrustworthy signs current among us.

> "Evening red and morning gray
> Are sure signs of a fine day.

"A mackerel-sky foretells rain.

"If a cat washes over her ear, it is a sign of fine weather.

"When a dog or cat eats grass, it betokens approaching rain.

"When a number of black snails are out on an evening, it will rain during the night.

"When the swallows fly low, rain is at hand.

> "When it rains with the wind in the east,
> It will rain for twenty-four hours at least." — p. 735.

In biographical reminiscences the history of Boston is singularly rich. Its calendar commences with St. Botolph, who is said to have died A. D. 680. According to a well-accredited legend, he redeemed the spot still associated with his name for human habitancy.

"That region was as much forsaken by man as it was possessed by demons, whose fantastic illusion by the coming of the holy man was to be immediately put to flight and the pious conversation of the faithful substituted in its place, so that where up to that time the deceit of the devil had abounded, the grace of our beneficent founder should more abound. Upon the entry therefore of the blessed Botulph, the blackest smoke arises, and the enemy, knowing that his own flight was at hand, cries out with horrid clamor, saying, 'This place which we have inhabited for a long time, we thought to inhabit for ever; why, O Botulph! most cruel stranger, dost thou violently drive us from these seats? In nothing have we offended thee, in nothing have we disturbed your right; what do you seek in our expulsion? what do you wish to establish in this region of ours? and, after being driven out of every corner of the world, do you expel us wretched even out of this solitude?' But the blessed Botulph, having made the sign of the cross, put all his enemies to flight, and by the powerful virtue of words, — a virtue conceded to him from Heaven, — he forbids them that region." — p. 371.

George Ripley, second in fame to no alchemist of the six-

teenth century, was born and died in Boston. Of John Fox we have already spoken. Ordained by Ridley, an ardent friend of the Reformation, in its van during the Marian persecution, it is worthy matter of surprise that he should not have been painted in a fiery winding-sheet in the Martyrology which he lived to write. Dr. William Stukeley, the celebrated antiquary, and Dr. Patrick Blair, the author of the first systematic treatise on Botany in the English language, though not natives, were both residents of Boston. Rev. Dr. Andrew Kippis, equally distinguished for piety, learning, eloquence, and fine social powers, and made memorable to posterity by his "Biographia Britannica," was a native of Boston, as were his ancestors for several generations. Of families eminent for rank and antiquity, belonging to the town or its immediate vicinity, or intimately associated with its history, we have the Tilney family, dating from the time of Edward the Confessor; the Hollands of Estovening; the Kyme family, settled in Lincolnshire before the Norman Conquest; the Irby family, first known to fame six centuries ago; the Hussey family, knights and nobles, of nearly the same antiquity; the Hutchinson family, celebrated in the annals of our Cisatlantic Boston; the Earls of Holland; and the Viscounts Boston, the last of whom died, without male issue, in 1754.

We confess a still deeper interest in the natives or residents of the English Boston, whose names are intimately associated with the early days, or are still borne in honor in the contemporary history, of our own city and State. Foremost among these, on every ground of precedence, is John Cotton. He was born at Derby, of an ancient and honorable family, was a graduate of the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of Magdalen College. He had been about two years vicar of St. Botolph's, when he began to feel conscientious scruples as to many of the required ceremonies of the Church. The only course open to him was non-conformity; and in this he was sustained for many years, with slight and transient difficulties, by the sanctity of his character, the soundness of his doctrine, and the gratitude of those who enjoyed his ministrations. At length he was summoned before the High Commissioners. He applied to the Earl of Dorset for his intercession with the government,

which proved unavailing through the opposition of Archbishop Laud. The Earl candidly "informed Mr. Cotton, that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have obtained his pardon; but as he was guilty of Puritanism and Non-conformity, the crime was unpardonable; and therefore he advised him to flee for his safety." Mr. Cotton then, in a letter fraught with the manly dignity and independence of spirit befitting his holy calling, resigned the vicarage of Boston into the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln. He was afterward concealed for a time in London. In disguise, and under a feigned name, he eluded pursuit on his way to the Downs, and took passage there for New England. As is well known, he at once rose, by the necessity of his own character, culture, and industry, to the first place in the infant colony, over whose affairs he may be truly said to have presided, and in whose arduous service he labored with indefatigable zeal for nearly as many years as he had occupied with like fidelity his pastorate in his native land. Of him Increase Mather, his son-in-law, writes: "Both Bostons have reason to honor his memory, and the New England most of all, which oweth its name and being to him, more than to any other person in the world."

Mr. Cotton was accompanied or speedily followed to New England by Richard Bellingham, who had been Recorder of Boston for eight years previously. Mr. Bellingham was Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for thirteen years, and Governor for ten. He was a lawyer by education, and left a high reputation for integrity and piety. Yet he seems to have been an impracticable man in his official intercourse, was often at variance with his brother magistrates, and, with prematurely liberal and even democratic views of government, maintained the utmost rigidness of discipline against the Quakers and other sectaries. Hubbard writes concerning him: "He was a great justiciary, a notable hater of bribes, firm and fixed in any resolution he entertained, of larger comprehension than expression, like a vessel whose vent holdeth no good proportion with its capacity to contain, — a disadvantage to a public person." On one important occasion, it would appear that the sentinel virtues nodded over their camp-

fire, and the old Puritan was surprised by the enemy whose conquests level all distinctions. A young lady, about to be married to a friend of his, so struck his fancy as adapted to succeed the wife of his youth, whom he had recently laid in the grave, that he contrived to supplant her affianced bridegroom. In the haste and shame of the transaction, he omitted the prescribed form of publication, and served as the officiating magistrate at his own nuptials. The grand jury presented him to the General Court for these irregularities; but he was *ex officio* the presiding magistrate, and, as he declined leaving the bench for the bar, the case was not adjudicated.

Thomas Leverett, probably a native, certainly for many years a resident, of Boston, and successively of the Common Council, coroner, and alderman of the borough, was one of John Cotton's companions on his voyage to America, and was ordained a ruling elder of the church in our own Boston shortly after his arrival. It cannot be ascertained of what profession he was. There is no proof of his having been a lawyer; but he seems to have assisted his friend and pastor in a semi-legal capacity during the pendency of the measures which resulted in his exile. He was a man of eminent uprightness, ability, and discretion. It was his son who succeeded Bellingham as Governor, and was knighted by Charles II., — not, however, by his own seeking or desire; for, with the instinctive prescience befitting the chief magistrate of a state in training for republican institutions, he concealed his title so far as he was able, and made use of it on no occasion whatever. The family traits were merged in the next generation, the Governor's son, Hudson, being said "to have maintained but an indifferent character." They reappeared, however, in Hudson's son, the President of Harvard University, whose previous eminence as a legislator, magistrate, and judge, together with his signal firmness and vigor in his academic office, was appealed to as a precedent, when, some thirty years ago, the administration of the College was for the second time put into the hands of a distinguished statesman and jurist.

John Cotton was also accompanied to the New World by Atherton Hough, who had been promoted to various offices of trust and honor in Boston, was Mayor of the borough in

1627, and resigned a seat in the Board of Aldermen on the eve of his embarkation. He filled and adorned places in the Colony corresponding to those which had been awarded him in the land of his birth.

Three years after Mr. Cotton's emigration, there came to New England Rev. Samuel Whiting, son of John Whiting, who had been Mayor of Boston, and whose family had appeared on the municipal records for more than three centuries. Mr. Whiting became the first minister of Lynn. He was distinguished for the elegance of his Latin composition in an age when the Latin was almost a vernacular tongue among the learned, and for his Hebrew scholarship at a period when sermons were not infrequently garnished with texts in crude Hebrew. Nor was he less eminent for the amiableness of his disposition and the sanctity of his life. Of his sons, one was the first minister of Billerica; a second, after taking his degree at Harvard University, returned to England, and became Rector of Leverton; and a third was his father's colleague and successor in the ministry. In the next generation of the same family was Rev. John Whiting, the second minister of Concord. The English branches of the family are now extinct; the transplanted scion still flourishes, and bears in its veins the flavor derived from the parent stock.

Edmund Quincy came to America with Mr. Cotton, whose weight of character and influence can have no higher attestation than in the number and worth of those who joined him as companions of his exile. The Quincy family was an ancient and numerous family in Lincolnshire, and Edmund emigrated from the village of Fishtoft, near Boston. He was the ancestor of our many distinguished compatriots who have borne and still bear his name, as also of John Quincy Adams and Chief Justice Cranch.

Many other names of well-known families of early date in our own city are familiar in the English Boston, thus rendering it in the highest degree probable that in the choice of a name for the capital of the Bay Colony, though the transcendent merit of the first minister was the ostensible motive, the fond remembrances and home yearnings of many of his flock may have borne part.

We have no space to enter upon the history of the neighboring villages, each of which has its antiquities, its quaint and curious records, its eleemosynary foundations, and its peculiar features of interest. Nor can we follow our author in the history of the Lincolnshire fens, which, from little else than a vast marsh, infested by legendary dragons, and the theatre for the heroism of fabulous dragon-slayers, have been so far reclaimed by scientific and costly drainage, as to be studded with thriving villages, and to furnish a rich virgin soil for agriculture. The whole valley of the Witham, and the sea-coast for many miles on either side of its mouth, present many features analogous to those of Holland, and large districts have been redeemed for human habitancy and tilth by the same means by which the Dutch won their territory from the ocean. The success which has thus far attended the enterprise gives sure presage of the fulfilment of the prediction made by Dr. Stukely in 1724: — "I doubt not but some time the whole bay between Lincolnshire and Norfolk (being one of our great sovereign's noblest chambers in his British dominions over the sea) will become dry land."

We have done very imperfect justice to the work under review. Its materials are, many of them, such as have vivid interest *in situ*, but as miscellaneous excerpts would only weary and repel the reader. The book as a whole presents the topography and history of the town and district in a panoramic view, which one may transfer to the mental retina as a finished picture, while the details out of their grouping would lose their individuality. The volume gives us an elaborately drawn section of English history, society, and institutions, — a microcosm typical of that macrocosm which we call our fatherland. It is not a book to be read through and laid aside, — no one would read it through; but it would be taken from the shelf year after year with new zest, and could hardly be opened at any page without offering that which would attract and reward perusal. Especially should it be in the hands of cultivated and inquiring men in our own city, and we trust that at their hands, as near his own home, Mr. Thompson may receive the substantial honor and reward which his indefatigable diligence in research, and his excellent taste in selection and compilation, so well deserve.

ART. VII. — 1. *Hints for some Improvements in the Authorized Version of the New Testament.* By the late REV. JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, M. A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. Fourth Edition. Cambridge and London. 1857.

2. *On the Authorized Version of the New Testament, in Connection with some recent Proposals for its Revision.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D. D., Dean of Westminster. (Reprint.) New York. 1858.

3. *The Gospel according to St. John, after the Authorized Version. Newly compared with the Original Greek, and revised.* By Five Clergymen [viz. JOHN BARROW, D. D., GEORGE MOBERLY, D. C. L., HENRY ALFORD, B. D., WILLIAM G. HUMPHRY, B. D., CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, M. A.]. London. 1857.

4. *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, after the Authorized Version. Newly compared with the Original Greek, and revised.* By Five Clergymen. London. 1858.

5. *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a Revised Translation.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, M. A. London. 1854.

6. *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, with a Revised Translation.* By the same. London. 1855.

7. *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, with a Revised Translation.* By the same. London. 1856.

8. *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, with a Revised Translation.* By the same. London. 1857.

9. *The Book of Job; the Common English Version, the Hebrew Text, and the Revised Version of the American Bible Union, with Critical and Philological Notes.* New York. 1856.

10. *The Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians; translated from the Greek, on the Basis of the Common English Version, with Notes.* New York: American Bible Union. 1856.

Two centuries and a half have nearly elapsed since "The

Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New, newly translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special Commandment," was "appointed to be read in churches." For nearly half a century it had to struggle with a lingering attachment to one of the "former translations." But from the Restoration, in 1660, to the present hour, the Bible of 1611 has been the most authentic expression of the Word of God to the mass of Christians speaking the English tongue. It has been domesticated by emigration on every continent. The earlier versions have become antiquated, and newer ones have been either shamed into oblivion, or allowed, at best, to be helps in the study of this. This is "the English Bible," while others are barely Bibles in English. In this respect its fate differs noticeably from that of its predecessors. Within a century before its appearance no less than six versions or revisions of the Bible in English had been published, one of which was but slowly superseded by it. But it has found no successor. It has come down through all the changes of time, unaffected by the greatest revolutions, attracting to itself an increasing measure of veneration and love. It has taught letters to children, eloquence to men, religion to all. In literature it is our great English classic. In religion it is our "daily bread."

This more than classic pre-eminence is due to various causes. The preceding century had been an era of great mental and moral activity, directed by religious motives or in the name of religion. The politics of Europe sprang from reformation and counter-reformation in the Church. Theology as yet was not only the noblest, but almost the only science. The standard of Biblical scholarship was high, relatively much higher than at present. But with the seventeenth century began the stirring of those secular agitations, which have seldom slept since, and are still active. From the civil war to the settlement of the Hanoverian succession, politics ruled in the Church quite as much as the Church ruled in politics. A kind of leadership was demanded that asked little aid from sacred learning. This became the occupation of here and there a scholar, whose achievements received about as intelligent ad-

miration from the majority of his clerical brethren as the polyglot attainments of our "Learned Blacksmith" may be supposed to have excited among his fellow-craftsmen. What little learning the eighteenth century gave to the cause of Christianity in England was chiefly expended upon apologetics, and at its close both theology and criticism had sunk to a very low estate. The great Evangelical revival which followed the birth of Methodism, indeed, made religion once more a power in society. But this was the fruit of devotion rather than of learning, and relied for its success upon the impression of those elementary spiritual truths which no erudite research is requisite, or even able of itself, to discover. A few great names, as of Mill, Lowth, and Campbell, light up what is mainly an age of decline in critical learning. The work of Bible translation naturally came to a stand. The authors of the received version laid, indeed, no claim to the credit of infallibility. They were only improving on the work of their predecessors. They professed to have made "honest and Christian endeavors" after "a more exact translation." There is no reason to suppose that they expected their own work to be exempt from a similar revising process, or ever flattered themselves with the hope that it would receive the unqualified veneration of ages. But there was at first no demand for improvement, and afterwards there were few who could have answered the demand had it been made. Thus time was given for its words to sink into men's hearts, till they have come to fashion the very texture of thought.

But it would be unjust to represent its extraordinary success as due wholly or mainly to accidental causes. Its great excellence is a more evident and more honorable reason. The era at which it was made was most fortunate for its merits and its fame. The "old masters" of our literature had moulded and enriched our rude vernacular, and made it for mingled strength and sweetness the noblest of modern languages. Repeated attempts at translation, by men who were among the choicest spirits of their times, and the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer, had done for the English what the Seventy, the Jewish philosophers, and the Christian Apostles and Fathers did for the Greek, and what Tertullian and Cyprian

did for the Latin tongue. A doctrinal and devotional dialect was formed, — a fit medium for expressing those ideas which Divine inspiration had brought within the reach of human intelligence, — and this dialect became the common property of the people. The translators of King James were late enough to secure the ripe fruit of these invaluable labors. They were equally fortunate in being early enough to escape those influences which have made our language at once more ductile to the varied purposes of modern usage, and less fitted for the highest offices of eloquence, poetry, and devotion. More than all, they lived when the martyr age of English Protestantism was fresh in memory. The words of the old Bibles which they "compared and revised" were not only English undefiled, but English hallowed by the intense religious earnestness of the men who wrote them, — men who plied their pious task in prison or in exile, with visions of the rack and the stake interposed between them and their heavenly consummation. Our English Bible is the Bible as interpreted by scholars who represented the best learning of a learned age, and whose characters were formed under the influence of a piety refined in the fiery furnace of persecution. Its diction, if not faultless, is yet the best example of the power and compass of our language. It has come to us without essential amendment, because its great positive excellences have caused its defects and blemishes to be viewed with more than the tenderness that forgives the faults of a beloved friend.

To this general sentiment there have been some illustrious exceptions; but the utter listlessness with which the public have received all suggestions of revising the version must have been discouraging to their authors. After men of the calibre of Lowth, Kennicott, Newcombe, Waterland, Wesley, and Campbell have declared in decided terms their conviction that great improvements might be made in it, to the signal advantage of religion, and their words have failed to awaken the slightest audible echo, it might have seemed that the English Bible, faults and all, had been accepted by English-speaking Protestants "for better, for worse," to the end of time. Had any one predicted, as lately as ten years ago, that by this time sufficient public interest would be felt in the project of revis-

ing our translation to call forth works such as are named at the beginning of this article (to say nothing of many others, with the enumeration of whose titles it seemed not worth while to cumber the page), to call into existence large societies, with funds liberally provided by popular contribution, and to engage the co-operation of some, and the respectful attention of more, of the best Biblical scholars on either side of the Atlantic, he would have been pronounced a visionary. Yet such is the fact. It may be that the present agitation will subside, with no other result than an increased tenacity of attachment to our Bible as it is; but it seems evident that this conclusion will be resisted by many until they can at least understand "the reason why." Possibly some will be more disposed to inquire why the question is raised at all, and what can be the occasion of so unexpected a degree of interest in its discussion at this time. If we believed it to be one of those epidemics of public caprice to which we seem to be increasingly liable, we could afford to leave it, with other ephemera, to those who "spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." But such, we are satisfied, is not the fact. It is a serious question to many minds, and among them some of the first minds in England and America, whether it is not our duty to endeavor to make the best version of the Scriptures still better. The interests involved in the determination of this question are too important to allow it to pass without a candid and deliberate inquiry into its merits.

The apparent cause of the movement was humble enough, — a schism in the "American and Foreign Bible Society," an organization originated by a secession of the main body of the Baptists from the support of the American Bible Society. The denomination was by no means a unit in the action by which a rival society was organized, and in 1850 that society was itself rent asunder by a proposition to publish an amended version of the New Testament in the English language. Thus originated the American Bible Union, having for its object the revision of the English Scriptures and the publication of "pure versions" in other languages. It might well be thought, as it was by most lookers-on, that this division and

subdivision of a denomination, on what seemed to be merely a question of sectarian policy, could have no effect on the Christian public at large, nor any good effect upon those immediately concerned in it. But from this inauspicious beginning a new impulse has been given to the purpose of revising our Scriptures. What was before only an aspiration of individuals, has become a matter of popular interest. Men like the late Professor Scholefield and Archdeacon Hare had modestly suggested the desirableness of an amended version, without any sensible effect. But the announcement that what had been only desiderated was actually to be attempted, had the effect to give courage to some who had hardly ventured to speak, and to arouse others who might have been indifferent. The question has come to enlist the attention of numbers who know very little of the history or movements of the American Bible Union, until such scholars as Dean Trench and the Five Clergymen think it no condescension to look into the matter. So far as we can judge by the most obvious indications, the interest is more general in England than in this country. We see no evidence that there is in either country a very numerous party in favor of the measure; but it has more friends than the most sanguine would have looked for a few years ago.

For such a turn of opinion it is evident that some other cause must be sought than the sectarian activity of a fraction of a sect. That, of itself, would have tended to make the whole matter odious. If there were not a feeling extensively diffused, a train laid which needed only a spark to kindle it, there would have been no such kindling as we now witness. And whoever will attentively consider the condition and tendencies of Biblical study for the last thirty years, and its relations to popular religious instruction, cannot fail to observe an unconscious preparation for the entertainment of this question. So far from wondering at the popular interest which, as Dean Trench observes, "differences the present agitation of the matter from preceding ones," we might rather have anticipated an earlier and more general attention to it, at least in this country.

The depressed state of critical learning in England during

the last century had its counterpart here, but from a different cause. The influence of President Edwards turned nearly all the more active thinkers on religion to the pursuit of metaphysical theology. His great doctrinal treatises on the Will and on Original Sin, and his most important practical work, on the Religious Affections, alike and almost equally invited thoughtful men from study of the written revelation to scrutiny of their own souls. Not that Edwards was wanting in reverence for the Scriptures, or in the proper mental and spiritual aptitudes for their successful interpretation. But his own experience and the stress of circumstances concurred to give his powers another direction, and the immense force which he exerted upon his contemporaries and the rising ministry determined most aspiring minds into the same line. Thence arose that school of New England theology, whose direct development may be said to have been brought to its ultimate result by the clear insight and dauntless logic of Emmons. But an influence had been meanwhile arising in another quarter, and preparing to work a complete revolution. The German mind began to come into communication with that of England and America. Much as our Teutonic cousins have to answer for in some respects, especially for the unbelieving and irreverent spirit which too many of their scholars have exhibited, giving to their productions a decided flavor of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, we owe them a weighty debt of gratitude. It is not extravagant to say that they have re-created the science of criticism. Whatever advance has been recently made in Biblical learning, in Great Britain or America, has been made under an impulse given by them. Under their leadership the original languages of Scripture have been investigated anew, and great light has been shed upon them from the comparison of languages and dialects. Scripture history and antiquities have been explored with a vigor before unthought of. The East has been visited by pilgrims who surveyed its geographical monuments with more instructed eyes than those of monks or sentimental tourists. Comparative criticism has done much towards restoring an authentic text of the New Testament. Materials are now available for a more exact interpretation of the Scriptures than

was possible to the best scholars of the seventeenth century. And there are scholars to use them with effect. He who compares the commentaries now current with what were deemed, fifty years ago, the most valuable helps to clerical study in the English language, whatever merits of the old-school annotators he may miss, cannot fail to recognize the fruits of a more generous culture than was known in the last or attainable in any preceding age. The effect of this progress has not been confined to any narrow class of learned men. It has pervaded the religious community. Not that all the people or all the clergy are advanced scholars, but scholarship is more worthily appreciated by both. Higher qualifications are sought by candidates for the ministry, and are demanded by the laity. By a happy coincidence, simultaneously with this revival of interest in sacred learning, there has taken place among us a revival (to use a technical term in a wider than its technical sense) of experimental and practical religion, awakening a greater zeal for the diffusion and enforcement of spiritual truth. The Biblical instruction of the young has come to be more systematically pursued. An impulse has been given to the creation of a Biblical literature for the people. The amount and increasing value of popular works for the aid of Bible-students can hardly be estimated by one who has not had occasion to observe with some care their number and character.

In these general statements we are anxious to be understood as speaking comparatively, and in contrast with the condition of things in the past. Tried by a standard of absolute excellence, comparing what is accomplished with what is desirable or ideally possible, we "have not attained." Or, if we inquire whether the men of our time have improved their advantages as faithfully as the men of the seventeenth century did theirs, it may appear that we have nothing to boast of. By as much as the materials for sound critical knowledge have been multiplied, by so much are our scholars held to a stricter accountability for their use. Still, — and this is all that concerns our present purpose, — it is certain that the English version, after the lapse of more than two hundred years, does not adequately represent what is known of the meaning of the Scriptures.

Now, without intending such an effect, and very generally without being aware of it, the votaries of sacred learning have been criticising our version, and making its imperfections notorious. Any interpretation of the original which involves a departure from the sense of the English text, is a criticism of the latter, whether formally stated or not. Every theological seminary is a college of revisers. The professors teach, and the pupils study, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The vernacular Bible is not expressly disparaged, nor even irreverently thought of, but as an authority it is quietly set aside. The commentaries referred to are founded on the original, not on the translated Scriptures. This tendency affects all departments of study. The instructor in systematic theology must go behind the translation of his proof-texts. The lecturer on church polity must define ἐκκλησία, and investigate anew the passages touching the offices and duties of bishops, elders, and deacons. The youthful theologues carry with them into the ministry the habits acquired in the divinity school. A sensible preacher will of course avoid pedantic displays of learning in the pulpit. But if he is an honest man, he cannot promulgate what he believes to be erroneous interpretations of the Word of God. Whether he quotes Greek in his sermons or not, his people will soon find out that their pastor does not regard the English version as inspired. Dr. Trench seems to suppose that this thought would be a novelty to the mass of the people. He says: —

"We must never leave out of sight that for a great multitude of readers the English Version is not the translation of an inspired Book, but is itself the inspired Book. . . . . The English Bible is to them all which the Hebrew Old Testament, which the Greek New Testament, is to the devout scholar. It receives from them the same undoubting affiance. They have never realized the fact that the Divine utterance was not made at the first in those very English words which they read in their cottages, and hear in their church." — pp. 174, 175.

These remarks may be just, as applied to rural congregations in England, but they are of very limited application here. If the title-pages of their Bibles and Testaments did not hint to them the existence of certain "original tongues" and of "former translations," the people would be at no loss to find

out the fact in other ways. Even in England, judging by the practice of eminent divines, men must be exceedingly dull of hearing to escape information on this point. Archbishop Whately, in his "Lectures addressed to his Parishioners by a Country Pastor," is profuse of amended translations, some of them extremely felicitous. Instances of the same freedom appear in the sermons of William Archer Butler. In the Occasional Sermons of Dr. John Harris we find a discourse, the text of which is stated as follows:—

"Rom. i. 16, 17: '*For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*';— it is *that* through which the power of God is manifested in saving every one that believes — '*to the Jew first*' — to him it is offered in the first instance — '*and also to the Greek*' — or Gentile. '*For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith*' — therein is revealed to our faith the doctrine of justification, or acceptance with God — of interest in a Divine righteousness, acquired by faith alone. '*As it is written*' — in the Old Testament — '*the just by faith shall live.*'" — p. 1.

Here, besides the mixture of exposition, the careful reader will notice that in the last clause the words "by faith" are made to connect themselves grammatically with "just," which is used as equivalent to the participle *justified*, giving to the clause this meaning, — "he who is justified by faith shall live."

While the minister is thus engaged in amending the translation, and publishing his emendations from the pulpit, the people are favored with more elaborate essays to the same purpose in the books they study. The most popular commentaries interpret the original Scriptures. Professor Bush's learned notes on the Pentateuch, thickly studded with Hebrew and Rabbinical quotations, (each duly rendered into English,) are designed "for popular use." Mr. Barnes's notes on the entire New Testament, and on several important books of the Old Testament, were avowedly composed for common readers of the Bible, and in some of them nearly every verse is re-translated. Of these and similar works, thousands of copies are circulated. They are found all over the land, in the possession of teachers and advanced pupils in Sunday

schools. New contributions to the stock of popular expository works are made every year, and it is noticeable that they are increasingly critical in their character. The authors ostensibly comment on the received version, but they are in fact superseding it by their own independent translations. We recently watched with interest a group of young persons studying their Sabbath lesson, guided by a "question-book," and aided by a volume of notes on the New Testament. They studied socially, one reading a question aloud, and the others searching for an answer. The commentator whose notes they used had evidently written from a study of the Greek. For half an hour we listened in vain for evidence that they once looked at the thin margin of text at the top of his pages. So far from making the English Bible the object of study, they did not pay it the compliment of a reference. We believe that this scene was only an example of what is going on weekly in places innumerable.*

Is it surprising, then, that the proposal to revise our version, so as to add to its other excellences the merit of more faithfully exhibiting the meaning of the sacred writers, should be received with increasing favor? The only object of a translation is to convey the meaning of the original to those who are unable to read it for themselves; and if men are taught that the version in their hands fails to do this, it would seem that their most obvious conclusion must be in favor of a new or corrected version. This is in fact just such a proposal as is most likely to be received with approbation by the popular mind. It is only men of rare scholarship who are able so to comprehend the work of translation as to appreciate its difficulties. Common minds know nothing of this, but they are abundantly capable of understanding the desirableness of the object. If they believe the Bible to contain the Word of God, they have the highest possible interest in its contents,

* A minister of the Baptist denomination, graduated at a New England college, proposed at first to enter the ministry, as many of his brethren have done, without a special theological and exegetical course of study. His purpose was changed in consequence of the embarrassment he experienced from his ignorance of the Hebrew language, in trying to instruct a Bible-class of young men out of the Old Testament. He had commentaries, — but so had they.

and cannot be indifferent to the question whether it is accurately translated. An erroneous version is worse than none, for it may mislead them. A defective version is diminished in value in proportion to the amount of defect with which it is chargeable. Such men would not be prone to suspect the authenticity of the common translation, and would never have originated a movement for correcting it. But the matter once brought to their notice, it is naturally seized upon and tenaciously adhered to. They are likely to be far more incredulous of difficulties. "What!" we have heard an unlettered Christian exclaim, "do you say that our version cannot be made better? You think yourself able to correct it, and have often done so. The commentaries you study correct it. You are all of you ready enough to do this for yourselves, why can you not do it for us?" The history of the American Bible Union is instructive in this respect. When first organized, it made a schism in the denomination in which it originated. Against it were arrayed their most respectable scholars, their most popular and influential preachers, their literary and theological seminaries, and the principal presses under their control, while other churches and sects looked on with mingled pity and disgust. But the people in considerable numbers gathered around it, and have sustained it. Its treasury has been well supplied with funds, and its operations have hardly been impeded for a day. Its influence has overleaped sectarian boundaries. Men of high and deserved reputation, who were hostile or indifferent, have come to identify themselves with the enterprise. It has not indeed attained to a flattering popularity. The opposition to it is very great. But it is steadily gaining friends. The movement, though not rapid, is mainly in the direction towards success. We see nothing in experience, or in present indications, to justify the belief that it is likely to be arrested by anything short of a demonstration that the end pursued is unattainable. That organization may not endure, but the agitation in some form will continue.

What duty is imposed upon us by this state of facts? It seems to us very clear, that we cannot and ought not to rest content with things as they are, but that the duty and re-

sponsibility of at least attempting a revision must be met. It may be an unwelcome, as it must be a difficult duty. We might perhaps prefer that the question had never been raised. But it is here, and it claims to be soberly dealt with. It is not by the American Bible Union, nor Mr. Ellicott, nor any other man or body of men, that the necessity is laid upon us, but by Divine Providence, by the inflexible logic of events. Whether we will or no, we are fast tending towards a state of things in which the English Bible, as it is, must part with a portion of the reverence in which it has been held. It is still the family Bible, the Church Bible, the closet Bible, the spring of holy and consoling thoughts, the storehouse of sacred eloquence, the inspirer and the liturgy of prayer and praise. But it is not, in the degree in which it once was, the *authoritative* Scripture. It is not, or it is fast ceasing to be, the minister's study Bible. It is not the book which the commentator expounds. With every advance in the popularizing of Biblical interpretation, it must come to be less and less regarded as the real source of popular religious instruction. How long can this process go on, and not withdraw from it, to a very injurious extent, the reverence of the people?

The *duty* of revision, we have said, and the word was not lightly chosen. This is a matter which rises infinitely above any question of inclination or taste. If our vernacular Bible were merely a book of English literature, a proposal to attempt an improvement upon it might well excite astonishment. All that is so often said of the tender and venerable associations connected with it, and of its preciousness as an English classic, would be in place. But when we receive it as a book of religious authority, we can accept it in that character only as it conveys to us the true meaning of the inspired original. If the version is imperfect, and its imperfections are remediable, there is a presumptive obligation to amend it. The burden rests upon those who resist, to prove that revision is either unnecessary or impracticable. This seems to be forgotten by some, who exclaim against "innovation," as if they really believed that King James's Bible was older than the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The words of Dean Trench on this point are very much to the purpose: —

"Nothing is gained, on the one hand, by vague and general charges of inaccuracy brought against our Version; they require to be supported by detailed proofs. Nothing, on the other hand, is gained by charges and insinuations against those who urge a revision, as though they desired to undermine the foundations of the religious life and faith of England. . . . . As little is the matter advantaged, or in any way brought nearer to a settlement, by sentimental appeals to the fact that this, which it is now proposed to alter, has been the Scripture of our childhood, in which we, and so many generations before us, first received the tidings of everlasting life. All this, well as it may deserve to be considered, yet, as argument at all deciding the question, will sooner or later have to be cleared away; and the facts of the case, apart from cries, and insinuations, and suggestions of evil motives, and appeals to the religious passions and prejudices of the day, — apart, too, from feelings which in themselves demand the highest respect, — will have to be dealt with in that spirit of seriousness and earnestness which a matter affecting so profoundly the whole moral and spiritual life of the English people, not to speak of nations which are yet unborn, abundantly deserves." — pp. 10, 11.

As to the first of the positions indicated, — that revision is unnecessary, — though very commonly taken, we must regard it as a strange one to be so much as admitted by Protestant Christians. We are told that, although our version is in some points inaccurate or obscure, there are no "grave and essential errors" in it. "The scholar can resort to the original, and, if need be, communicate to others the results of his studies." * "The rule of faith" for the laity, then, is to be, not the Scriptures, but the Scriptures *plus* the priest or "doctor." We are concerned to know by what gauge any part of a Divine revelation is ascertained to be superfluous. We should presume that the teachings of Scripture concerning the future state deserve to be ranked among those of the greatest moment. Is there no ambiguity in the language of our version on that subject, which might be removed by a more accurate translation? It happens by a curious, almost a whimsical, conjunction of opposites, that this sort of apology for errors of translation comes oftenest from men who hold to the verbal inspiration of the Bible. A distinguished theo-

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover, April, 1858, p. 287.

logian of the Presbyterian Church, who has been conspicuous in denouncing a departure from even the punctuation and chapter-headings — why not the spelling also? — of King James's translators, holds the following language: —

"We can understand how a man can regard the Bible as a mere human composition; we can understand how he can regard inspiration as a mere elevation of the religious consciousness; but how any one can hold that the sacred writers were inspired as to their thoughts, but not as to their language, is to us perfectly incomprehensible. The denial of *verbal* inspiration is, in our view, the denial of *all* inspiration, in the Scriptural sense of the doctrine. No man can have a wordless thought, any more than there can be a formless flower. By a law of our present constitution, we think in words, and, as far as our consciousness goes, it is as impossible to infuse thoughts into the mind without words, as it is to bring men into the world without bodies."

Whether He with whom that is possible which is impossible with man, may not bring to pass more things than are dreamed of in our philosophy; whether every doctrine which is incomprehensible is therefore false; whether the verity of inspiration may not be assured to us, though the manner be hidden; and other questions suggested by this quotation, — cannot be now and here discussed. But we may observe, that whoever thinks thus of the words of the Bible assumes a fearful responsibility in consenting for a moment, unless under the restraint of an unconquerable necessity, that one of them should be obscured or misrepresented. To all such, as to every man who believes the Bible to be verily a Divine gift, we commend the solemn words of Mr. Ellicott: —

"If we are truly and heartily persuaded that there are errors and inaccuracies in our version; if we know that, though by far the best and most faithful translation the world has ever seen, it still shares the imperfections that belong to every human work, however noble and exalted; if we feel and know that these imperfections are no less patent than remediable, — then surely it is our duty to Him who gave that blessed Word for the guidance of man, through evil report and through good report to labor by gentle counsels to supply what is lacking and correct what is amiss, to render what has been blessed with great measures of perfection yet more perfect, and to hand it down thus marked with our reverential love and solicitude, as the best and most blessed heritage we have to leave to them who shall follow us.

"It is in vain to cheat our own souls with the thought that these errors are either insignificant or imaginary. There *are* errors, there *are* inaccuracies, there *are* misconceptions, there *are* obscurities, not indeed so many in number or so grave in character as the forward spirits of our day would persuade us of, — but there *are* misrepresentations of the language of the Holy Ghost, and that man who, after being in any degree satisfied of this, permits himself to lean to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, or who, intellectually unable to test the truth of these allegations, nevertheless permits himself to denounce or deny them, will, if they be true, most surely, at the dread day of final account, have to sustain the tremendous charge of having dealt deceitfully with the inviolable Word of God." — *On the Pastoral Epistles*, Pref., p. xii.

Detailed proof of those imperfections in our version, on account of which a revision is called for, cannot of course be offered within the limits of a review article. Specimens of them are given in the works of Dr. Trench and Professor Scholefield, and are wisely and temperately discussed. But if we may so far presume on the interest of our readers in this subject, we may be able to set the importance of the measure in a clearer light, by indicating the nature of the amendments sought, with a few brief specifications. In making these criticisms, we are not to be understood as censuring the translators. A part of the defects charged belong to their age, and not to themselves. Expressions which are now obsolete were then current, and they could not foresee nor provide against the changes of time. Some of their errors arose from the fact that they were not making a new version, but revising older ones, and their vigilance was sometimes intermitted. In other cases we have an advantage over them from the progress that has since been made in the knowledge of Biblical philology and antiquities, for which we can afford to be thankful without being censorious. And if inadvertences appear for which we cannot account, it will be time enough to indulge severity of judgment when we forget that we also are fallible men. But we cannot so readily acquit ourselves, if, through mistaken reverence for them, we suffer their work to continue defaced, and subject to needless disparagement.

Of imperfections which were not such when the version

was made, but are due to the changes of time, the occurrence of obsolete words, and of current words in obsolete senses, is among the most obvious. Thus we have "fray," meaning *to frighten;* "daysman," *an umpire;* "leasing," *lies;* "ear," *to till;* "to wit," *to know*; the last occurring in that very awkward expression, "we do you to wit," for *we make known to you.* This class of words is not very numerous, but is enough so, taking into account the frequency of their occurrence, to constitute a noticeable blemish, and one easily removed. The errors occasioned by changes of signification in words are more serious. Instances that will readily occur to the discriminating reader are "conversation" in the sense of deportment, "honest" for decent, or becoming, "worship" for civil respect. Most readers probably understand that, when Christians are called "a peculiar people," the phrase imports their duty to manifest a character distinguished in a marked degree from that of worldly or irreligious men. It really expresses property or ownership, and is only another method of saying that they are "not their own." "Vengeance," as used by our translators, is generally equivalent to punitive justice. "Is God unrighteous *that taketh vengeance* [who punishes]?" We must think it no unimportant matter that "the Judge of all the earth" is represented to common readers as awarding justice in a revengeful spirit. Here should be noticed obsolete grammatical forms, such as the confounding of "who" and "which," and the use of "his" for "its,"—a word not current in the seventeenth century. In regard to words that offend by their grossness, it is difficult in this over-squeamish age to lay down any certain rule. But we suppose it will be generally admitted that our version of the Old Testament is disfigured by an unnecessary coarseness of expression, which impairs the pleasure of reading it, and which could be abated without any serious loss of precision or energy. The obscurity arising from inconsistency in the rendering of proper names, by which, for example, Elijah in the Old Testament becomes Elias in the New, Hosea becomes Osee, and Joshua is translated into Jesus, is sometimes perplexing, and in the last-named instance positively misleading, as in Hebrews iv. 8.

Of errors, or inconsistencies, in translation we can give but

a few examples. The treatment of idiomatic peculiarities by our translators is fruitful of embarrassment. Hebraisms are generally resolved into equivalent English expressions, but are sometimes literally translated. Thus the use of a dependent noun instead of an adjective is sometimes retained in the translation, oftener turned into idiomatic English. We have "his holy hill," and "the mountain of his holiness," the Hebrew being the same in both cases. When this usage is extended to the literal translation of such a phrase as "the right hand of my righteousness," the sense is obscured. Sometimes a Hebraism is imagined where none exists, as in the expression, "the liberty of the glory of the children of God," which is rendered "the glorious liberty," without sufficient reason. The word "son," which by a frequent Orientalism is used to express almost any relation of persons or things, generally gives place to the word or phrase that corresponds to it in English. "Son of the bow" is properly rendered "arrow," and so in very numerous cases. But we have "son of Belial," "son of peace," "son of consolation," phrases nearly as unintelligible in themselves as those that are more rationally treated. To this category belong certain Hebraisms which are at once unintelligible and repulsive to us.

The neglect of the definite article, sometimes omitting it where it is found in the Greek, and again inserting it without authority, weakens, and occasionally perverts, the meaning of the New Testament. An instance of omission occurs in Romans v. 15: "For if through the offence of (the) one (the) many be dead, much more the grace of God by (the) one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto (the) many." An instance of improper insertion is to be noticed in the same Epistle, ii. 14: "For when (the) Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law," &c. The Apostle does not say that the Gentiles, as a whole, do this, but Gentiles, some of them. By their error in this respect, our translators have much obscured an important distinction. In the Gospels Christ is usually not a name, but a title, and has the article. In the Epistles it passes into a proper name, and is generally without the article. The reason is plain. Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, He who was to come. But

the Apostles assume it as demonstrated that he was the Messiah, and use the title thenceforth as a strictly personal appellation. Common readers are in danger of understanding the question, "What think ye of Christ?" as equivalent to "What do you think of me?" rather than, as it is, "What is your view of the Messiah?" — what sort of a personage do you look for? Negligence in the rendering of words on which the whole sense of some passage turns, though not very frequent, is sufficiently so to perplex the reader. In Romans, chapter iv., λογίζομαι occurs eleven times. It is twice rendered "count," three times "reckon," and six times "impute." How much greater clearness would have been imparted to the reasoning by adhering to a single English word wherever the term occurs! Dean Trench (pp. 69 – 83) enumerates several striking examples of this. We might add instances of error or obscurity arising from confusion in respect to the tenses of verbs and the force of prepositions; but as the utmost that is possible within reasonable limits of space would afford only slight glimpses of a very extensive prospect, it may be wise to forbear.

Now who will say that accuracy in these points is of small consequence? If the reader merely gained by revision superior clearness of narrative, considering how much of the Scriptures consists of narrative, this would be of no small advantage. But the profit would be even more striking in those books which are doctrinal, whose verses are citadels for the possession of which whole armies of controversialists have almost literally fought. There is something more than a verbal difference between the expression (Romans iii. 25), "for the remission," and the more correct "on account of the passing by" of past sins; between "if one died for all, then were all dead," (2 Cor. v. 14,) and the more literal "then all died." In such cases we are reviewing ground trampled by polemic warfare and also watered with the tears of devotion, and is it of small import whether we go astray?

There are two points, not alluded to in any of the recent discussions of this subject that have fallen under our notice, on which some general remarks are in place. Attention seems to have been given, in England, chiefly to the New Testa-

ment. But we suppose it to be generally agreed among competent scholars, that our version is more accurate in the New Testament than in the Old. Greater advance has been made in Hebrew than in Greek grammar and lexicography. The poetical parts of the Old Testament especially suffered loss in the hands of our translators, and need a more thorough revision. Of this any one may satisfy himself by examining, not the interpretations of German rationalists, but those of so conservative expositors as Dr. Alexander, for example, or Dr. Henderson; or by comparing the common version of the book of Job with the excellent revised version published by the Bible Union. The labor required here must be very great, but the resulting benefit will more than repay it, if the Psalms and the Prophetic writings, those storehouses of devotional thought and language, are presented in a form that will do more ample justice to their divine beauty. In the New Testament the Epistles demand the utmost industry and skill. They are especially obscured by inattention to the force of the particles which indicate the transitions and connections of thought. It is no exaggeration to say, that there are passages in the Epistles of Paul which, as they appear to the mere English reader, are without any discernible connection or relation of parts. They are read in fragments, with no attempt, even, to trace the Apostle's logic. Here, also, there is a wide and very difficult department of labor, in which the conscientious student is thankful for small gains at almost any sacrifice of toil.

And this brings us to the alternative question, Granting that a revised version of the Scriptures is desirable in itself, is it practicable? Can it be effected? Can it, especially, be effected, without doing harm that would more than outweigh its benefits?

There is undoubtedly a very serious obstacle at the threshold of the undertaking. When the present translation was "authorized," English Protestantism was externally a unit. There was internal strife in the national church, but little actual separation from it. Each body of non-conformists, in breaking away from the national communion, took with them the authorized version. Now, with the spread of

the English race and of the English language upon other continents, the Church of England can speak with but a limited authority on this matter. She may revise her Scriptures for her own children, but her action may or may not be deferred to by those beyond her pale. And among ourselves, where all bodies of Christians are equal before the law, there is still greater difficulty in the way of arriving at any unanimity of action. There is room for almost any amount of jealousy and discord. But we do not think there is cause to despair of a practicable union, provided only there is a just recognition of the worth of the object. When timidity and prejudice give place to more elevated conceptions of the undertaking and a more earnest desire for its accomplishment, all obstacles to co-operation will melt away.

A more serious difficulty, an obstruction to the doing of the work when it is undertaken, is the unsettled state of the Greek text of the New Testament. Criticism has made encouraging progress, but her labors are far from being ended. The text from which our version was made will now be accepted by comparatively few well-informed persons as the basis of an improved translation, and there is as yet no agreement upon any other. The revisers of the American Bible Union adopt as a provisional basis the received text, with such variations from it as have the concurrence of critical editors for the last hundred years. This is hardly satisfactory, but would be a decided advance on the imperfect editions of the seventeenth century. It seems to us, however, that the most honest way of dealing with the reader, in those cases in which the variation affects the sense, is to translate the various readings and place them in the margin. The fear of "unsettling" men's minds is unworthy of a Christian. Why should we hesitate to let the whole truth be known?

A more difficult question remains, Are we competent to the undertaking? Is there adequate scholarship to do the work, and to do it well? This may justly be a matter of anxiety, when we see that it weighs so heavily on the minds of men who would be unanimously looked to as among the chiefs in classical, sacred, and English learning. "On the whole," says Dean Trench, "I am persuaded that a revision ought to

come; I am convinced that it will come. Not, however, I would trust, as yet; for we are not as yet in any respect prepared for it; the Greek and the English which should enable us to bring this to a successful end might, it is to be feared, be wanting alike." And so Mr. Ellicott: "This only I will say, that it is my honest conviction that for any *authoritative* revision we are not yet mature, either in Biblical learning or Hellenistic scholarship." There are many to whom these utterances will be incomprehensible. The rash tyro, who, just able with the help of Robinson's Lexicon to construe the Greek Testament, is not afraid to criticise the English version to the right and left, has no such doubts. The good men who contribute to Bible Unions, and wonder why the expected new version is so long in coming, cannot understand them. For ourselves, while we regard with profound respect the sentiments of these eminent scholars, and would tremble to "rush in" where such men "fear to tread," we venture to believe that their modesty aggravates their fears to an unnecessary pitch. It should be remembered, in the first place, that a perfect version is not to be expected. That measure of learning which is adequate to judge with so penetrating a discernment the merits and defects of the existing version, cannot be altogether at fault in humbly and faithfully seeking its amendment. And especially it should be borne in mind, that we shall never succeed if we fear to make the attempt. Until men try, they cannot know their own strength.

In one respect we must confess a want of sympathy with much that is written on this subject. The incomparable English of our version, it is said, cannot be approached, and the only effect of revision would be to mar the composition. It would be no longer of a piece. Now, in no spirit of vaunting, we trust, nor in any sympathy with the vanity of "the age," we express the conviction that in this very respect the present is a better time for undertaking a revision than could have been selected at any previous period. During the last half of the seventeenth, and almost throughout the eighteenth century, a vitiated taste in literature caused the old English authors to be neglected. But for fifty years past they have been studied with more diligence and with a higher

appreciation. We have little doubt that there are to-day, in any one of the midland shires of England, more persons able to enjoy the great writers of the seventeenth century, than there were in London and both the Universities a hundred years ago. The limitations of the proposed work are also to be considered. If it were demanded that a new version should be composed throughout, to rival that which we have received, there would be reason to despair. But are we so straitened for good English, that we cannot repair the rents of the old fabric and replace a stone here and there, — while we have for our quarry not only the vocabulary of the version itself, but the versions from which it was revised, with the wealth of the contemporary literature? The very love and veneration with which the English Bible is viewed, and which cause so many to shrink from the risk of marring its sanctities, encourage the belief that it has fallen upon a fit time, and among men with whom it may be safely trusted for needed amendment. At least, let it be tried.

As for the shock consequent on revision, which may be expected to unsettle men's faith in the Scriptures, and to reduce everything, literature as well as religion, to chaos, according to the expressed apprehensions of some, we have come to look on such threatened calamities with a good degree of resignation. We do not think so poorly of the Christianity of our time, in comparison with that of past ages, as to believe that men's faith rests on words and syllables, especially on obsolete words, words which they would rather not read aloud, or words which convey to them either no meaning at all or a wrong one. We remember that the people of England met and survived the "shock" of six successive versions of the Bible before the present translation was made, and we trust that our own generation, both there and here, can accept some necessary corrections in their copies without being driven to apostasy. Considering especially that the revision cannot be wrought in a day, and that the improved version is in no danger of coming upon us like lightning from the clear sky, it may be reasonably hoped that sufficient time will be given to get out of the way of serious harm from it.

All effort in that direction for the present must be merely

tentative. In the existing temper of the public mind, any proposal for definite action looking toward a final result would doubtless be repelled. Dean Trench suggests, (and the editor of Professor Scholefield's Essay seems to be of the same opinion,) that nothing in the way of revision should now be attempted. He would have a select body of scholars agree upon such corrections of the text as meet their mature approbation, and cause these to be published for the consideration of all interested. By degrees, he thinks, these may so commend themselves to general favor as to demand, and have accorded to them, a place in the current text. His suggestions incidentally illustrate one of the difficulties inherent in the undertaking, — that arising from the divided state of Christendom. He would have the Church of England take the initiative, and invite the co-operation of scholars from this country, and from some of the dissenting bodies in England. These last, he is careful to intimate, should co-operate as scholars merely, — implying that the elect workmen of the national Church are to bear some other and higher character. He also makes two noticeable exceptions. "The so-called Baptists" are to be excluded, because they demand not only the translation, but the interpretation of a certain word; those dissenters, also, who do not accord with the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, are to be left out of the account. As to the first of these exceptions, it will probably surprise the very reverend Dean to learn that in this country "the so-called Baptists" in great numbers have repudiated the revision movement in the gross, and have particularly protested against any change of the version in respect to the terms descriptive of the rite of baptism. It might also, we should suppose, occur to his mind, that some of that sect, however inadmissible might be their demands touching one or two words, would be able to render service towards the better translation of sundry other words in which their sectarian prepossessions have no separate interest. Of one thing he may be assured, — that, should the enterprise ever become general in this country, there are "so-called Baptists" whose learning and skill could be dispensed with only to the serious loss of all parties concerned. Nor are we able to see that any doctrinal test would

be profitable. Unless the Church of England has made rapid strides towards unity within a very recent period, there are nearly as wide differences between those embraced within her communion, as there are between most of them and those who are unable to digest an *ex animo* subscription to her Articles. We can think of only one reasonable limit as to opinion, — that of an agreement in holding to the divine authority of the Bible as a rule of faith.

But waiving discussion of this point, which is not immediately practical, it seems to us that the surest method of conciliating men to the undertaking, of removing prejudice and awakening sympathy, is to begin the work at once. Mr. Ellicott and the four clergymen associated with him have taken a step on the sure road to success. Deprecating as earnestly as Dr. Trench any present attempt at an authoritative revision, they propose that "bands of independent scholars" should undertake the task, and offer specimens of what may be accomplished with some select portions of Scripture. Such amended versions, coming into the hands of scholars for criticism, may perhaps also be welcomed to the study as aids in Scriptural interpretation, and to the closet as quickeners of devotion. It may be anticipated that by and by, through experience of their benefits, there will be a readiness to accept an improved version as a whole. We are convinced that a good revised text, thus put into circulation and placed beside the common text, would plead the cause of revision more effectually than whole libraries of discussion, and with more speedy effect than the best catalogues of corrections, though presented as invitingly as they are by Dean Trench himself. In this point of view we welcome the labors of the Five Clergymen, and trust that they will have sufficient encouragement to proceed further in the same direction. Whatever else may be said of their productions, — and very much might be said in their praise, — they are worthy of special commendation for the skill and delicacy which they have shown in dealing with the common version. Our only complaint against them in this regard is, that they are a little too much hampered by the fear of modernizing the style. Because the use of "his" for *its*, and of "which" for *who*, belongs to the admitted usages

of the language in the seventeenth century, they hold the retention of them to be necessary to the due preservation of the archaic English style. But we conceive that a distinction is to be made among archaisms. Some are beauties, and some are blemishes. An evident deformity is not to be cherished merely because it is old. In cases where antique modes of expression are not only superseded, but proscribed as incorrect and inelegant, by long-established usage, the retaining of such forms does nothing for, but sins against, the dignity and sacredness of the Scriptures.

In this country scholars lack "independence" in more senses than one. Very few have the means and appliances for prosecuting such a work with success. Association in some form is necessary. Having spoken rather freely of the origin of the American Bible Union, justice requires that we should not dismiss it without some further notice. At the outset it suffered all the disadvantages, without the compensating helps, of a sectarian origin. That was against it in the eyes of the general public, while the sect with which it was popularly identified, for that very reason, was hostile to its designs. Its managers had the discretion to proclaim a non-sectarian position, and to invite the aid of scholars from all sections of Protestantism. A majority of its supporters are still, we presume, Baptists, but there is nothing exclusive in its constitution. It further suffered from the necessity, if it would attempt anything immediate, of employing revisers of inferior capacity. Some of their experimental revisions, which were intended only as a sort of prospectus of what was to be attempted, have been turned to the discredit of the Union. But in securing the services of Professor Conant, whose revision of Job speaks better for him than any commendations of ours, and more recently of Professor Hackett, whose accomplishments as a Biblical scholar and expositor are universally recognized, with those of other eminent men on either side of the Atlantic, it has made a more effective appeal to public consideration. Its library of Biblical works is said to be unrivalled on this continent. We see no reason to doubt that it will yet entitle itself to a far greater measure of consideration than is now accorded to it.

But whatever may be the result of particular measures, we have faith that the great object in view will ultimately be reached, and that the English Bible, not superseded, not disparaged, but arrayed in still higher beauty than it now boasts, will be handed down to a grateful and revering posterity.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Les Lionnes Pauvres.* Par EMILE ANGIER.
2. *Fanny.* Par ERNEST FEYDEAU.
3. *L'Assassinat du Pont Rouge.* Par CHARLES BARBARA.
4. *Italia.* Par THEOPHILE GAUTIER.
5. *La Mode.* Par THEOPHILE GAUTIER.
6. *La Clef du Grand Cyrus.* Par M. VICTOR COUSIN. 2 vols.
7. *Essais Morales et Historiques.* Par EMILE MONTEGUT.

IT is certainly not a matter of indifference to note what the stage in France has come to within the last ten years. From the closing period of the Restoration to the middle of the July monarchy, especially from 1828 to 1847, the reigning literary influence might be said to be embodied in the form of the two-volume novel, which little by little swelled out to the novel in four, eight, twelve, or even more volumes. The novel was so in fashion, that no other form conveyed any strong image to the public eye or impression to the public mind. From *Indiana* to the *Mystères de Paris*, we shall find, through a dense mass of prose, whether with illustrious names or under names perfectly obscure, that all notions, social or moral, were most readily absorbed by the reading world in France when they were presented in the shape of a continuous narrative, — of a romance, in short. Both men and women imbibed the most dangerous and depraved ideas with regard to the neglect of all domestic duties, from the perusal of *Valentine*, *Jacques*, and the rest of Madame Sand's works of fiction, backed by the (if possible) still more immoral creations of Balzac, Alexander Dumas, and Eugène Sue; while the latter began the Socialist revolutionary movement that reached its climax in February, 1848, by idealizing the very worst pas-

sions of the lower classes. At the same time, the upper ranks of society learned to analyze, and, if truth must be told, to despise themselves, in the cynical productions of Balzac. The large collection of volumes forming what this talented writer (talents of the rarest species cannot be denied him) denominated *La Comédie Humaine*, are little or nothing save the biography of contemporary French society written by itself. As Rousseau has left us the record of his vanities and short-comings in the strange, sometimes appalling, but undeniably attractive book called *Les Confessions*, so Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* may stand for the confessions of an age and of an entire community. In the most voluminous work of Alexander Dumas, again, his *Monte Christo*, we have the image of one of the monster vices of the present epoch in France, — the devouring appetite for wealth. But in each and all of these works, where French contemporary civilization holds up a mirror to itself, the form is the same. The narrative shape is the one exclusively affected by all who, during the period we have named, undertake to communicate intellectually with the public. Since 1848, things have completely changed in this respect. The dramatic has almost entirely superseded the narrative form, and the faults or weaknesses of the present moment are presented to the public appreciation exclusively through the medium of the stage. Whatever an author now has to say to the public in France, he puts into action, instead of describing it. What has been hitherto considered as indispensable to theatrical representation, — an event, a situation, an incident, — all this is often set aside, and the personages of the modern drama simply recite in costume, and on the boards behind the footlights, what they might as well be described as saying in the pages of a tale. The dramatic action, properly so called, is not cared for or sought after; but it is the tendency of the hour to go and see at the *Vaudeville* or *Gymnase* the reproduction of the identical scenes which the spectators have witnessed, or will witness, in the drawing-rooms of their own or their neighbors' houses.

The fact once admitted, that French contemporary society is at the present moment mirrored to itself principally upon

the stage, it naturally becomes interesting to see what are the particular forms which may be caught upon the mirror's surface. The *Les Lionnes Pauvres* of Emile Angier, which piece was brought out after *La Jeunesse*, by the same author, is a bold — nay, cynical — exposure of what is most reprehensible in contemporary French society. It is the representation of the manœuvres and intrigues by which a very large number of "fine" and "fast" ladies manage to secure the sums of money requisite for their dress and their diversions, which sums cannot be furnished them by the conjugal purse. It is the showing up of the hideous little devices whereby ladies in the position of the *lionnes pauvres* cheat their husbands, and induce the latter to imagine that their pecuniary resources cover that to obtain which absorbs double and treble the amount of those resources. The subject, as we perceive, is not easy of treatment. Emile Angier has treated it with the utmost boldness. The consequence was, that, when the manuscript was first examined by the censors, license to perform the play was refused. It was alleged that society was too boldly, too openly attacked, and that to bring forward such an attack before the public was not to be thought of for an instant. Prince Napoleon was applied to; his influence obtained, in spite of the censors' scruples, the ministerial license, and the *lionnes pauvres* were shown to the Parisian public in all their undisguised degradation, and applauded by crowded houses, the component members of which could not but recognize the picture as genuine. The picture is simply this. M. Pommeau, a man of a certain age, a notary, has espoused a young woman, whose guardian he was, but whose fortune may be reckoned as a blank. Madame Séraphine Pommeau has been brought up with disorderly and expensive tastes, without any means of satisfying them. No sooner is she married, than, making the most of her beauty, she levies contributions upon all the men of her husband's acquaintance, one after another, beginning with a certain Léon Lecarnier, whose wife is the very best friend Madame Séraphine ever had. This intrigue is discovered by all the personages of the play except M. Pommeau. Léon Lecarnier has given all he possesses, and, as he has nothing more to give, his

"lady love" bids him adieu, and is about accepting the proffered homage of Bordognon, the satirical character of the piece, — the *raisonneur*, as it is technically called, — when the unfortunate notary becomes aware of all that has been passing, of all his dishonor, — previously concealed only from himself, — and the *dénouement* of the piece is brought about. The unhappy man beggars himself to pay back all that his guilty wife has allowed others to offer her, and then proposes to her his forgiveness and a life of honest toil. She refuses unhesitatingly, and we may guess what the rest of her existence will be. From amongst twenty other passages equally curious to the foreign reader, we will quote the following portrait of *la lionne pauvre*, put into the mouth of Bordognon: —

"You wish to know what the word means in that slang called the language of the world? I will tell you at once: a *lionne* is a woman of fashion; that is, one of those female dandies whom you meet everywhere where it is the fashion to be seen, — at the races, at the Bois de Boulogne, at first representations, — wherever, in short, fools seek to seem richer than they are to the envious who have not half what they want. . . . . Here is the female dandy; add a spark of eccentricity, you have the *lionne;* take away the fortune, you have *la lionne pauvre*. . . . . The difference between the two lies in the treasurer. For the mere *lionne* there is the husband; for the *lionne pauvre*, there is some one else. In a word, these two varieties of the same species blossom in every rank of society; and, duchess or *bourgeoise*, from ten up to a hundred thousand francs a year, the *lionne pauvre* begins where the husband's fortune ceases to be in keeping with the wife's expenditure."

To this the interlocutor of Bordognon replies, that there are "other ways whereby a wife can cheat her husband," and Bordognon answers: —

"Yes! . . . . . I know those other ways, and they almost always begin by them. So long as the *lionne* is well-behaved, the husband pays two *sous* apiece for the breakfast-rolls that cost but one; but from the day when her good behavior ceases, he pays one *sou* for the rolls that cost two. The wife begins by robbing the common stock, but she ends by enriching it."

We could, as we have said above, add other quotations; but the principle of the piece, its motive, and the particular aspect of civilization which calls it forth, are made sufficiently evident

by Bordognon's cynical speeches. The truth of these speeches is attested by the manner in which the public flock to hear and to applaud them. This it is, — this recognition of itself by society in such a play as M. Angier's, — which makes it impossible for the foreign student of French morals and literature to overlook such a production as *Les Lionnes Pauvres*.

If a worse proof of corruption can be held to exist than that to which the passages we have cited bear witness, we should perhaps find it in a book recently published, and received by the Parisian public with perfectly rapturous applause. *Fanny* is a small volume, by a writer whose talent had previously shown itself simply in archæological discussion, and appeared to have nothing in common with the creations of fiction. At the present moment, four or five editions of the villanous little work have been exhausted, and the critics most in renown have proclaimed *Fanny* a *chef-d'œuvre*. Jules Janin wrote a Preface to it, which is the one act of his whole life of which he ought to be the most ashamed. In this Preface he quietly asserted that "every woman in France had already devoured the book in question," and that "it was hidden under every pillow and every toilet-table." To add to this something worse, he declared that it was, above all, the "honest women" who would read the work he vaunted. M. St. Beuve, in the *Moniteur*, occupied several columns in proving that few works of fiction are equal to this; and above all he praised it for its truth, for the way in which it portrayed the woman of the nineteenth century — in France, let us hasten to say.

Now anything more monstrous (we can find no other expression) than this same story of *Fanny* it never was our fate to read. The book is an autobiography. A young gentleman named Roger, having fallen into a state of such hopeless misery, through the perverseness of his mistress, that he can find repose only in the utter solitude of a dilapidated dwelling on the sea-shore, takes the world into his confidence, and pours into its ear the recital of all his woes, and of their source. At four and twenty M. Roger falls desperately in love with a lady of thirty-five. This is by no means an extraordinary occurrence on the continent of Europe, and some

thousands of similar cases could be described, which would be well-nigh complete parallels for the history of M. Roger and Madame Fanny. But here does not lie the knot of the affair, nor is it by any means the mere fact of their crime that embarrasses either of the lovers. They do not once, that we are aware, raise any objection to the adultery *per se;* but a circumstance connected with it proves the total destruction of the hero's happiness. The lover conceives a frantic jealousy of the husband! Here is the plot of this atrocious fiction, and we ask our readers if a viler can be imagined? Yet the woman of the nineteenth century, in France, is quite accurately painted in this miserable creature, who can give her whole soul unreservedly to no affection, but whose only aim is to make herself "comfortable" in the midst of wrong. It has been our lot, in the course of our studies in French literature, to read many books which shocked our moral sense, and appeared to us as the sign of a moral inferiority in the nation that could crown such works with popularity; but so thoroughly disgusting a creation as *Fanny*, or one the success of which attests more unequivocally the corruption of a people, it has — we unhesitatingly declare — never yet been our evil fortune to peruse.

Certain attempts have more than once been made in France to introduce into the literature of fiction an element which in all Northern tongues has a large range of action, but which has been thought incompatible with the languages of Latin root, and especially with the French. We allude to that of terror. In the fictitious literature of England and Germany terror is one of the chief elements, and Lewis, Scott, Ann Radcliffe, and all the German novel-writers, from the time of the *Ritter Romances* down to Hoffmann, testify how greedy, in the Saxon civilizations, is the public mind for the terrible under any form. Within the last two or three years there has been in France a stronger tendency of this nature than ever before, and it is principally due to the works of one of our countrymen. The translation of Edgar Poe's Tales has created a greater sensation among Frenchmen than perhaps any other publication since the days of Walter Scott.

Among the hundred *tales of terror* to which Poe's "Assas-

sination in the Rue Morgue" has given rise, there is one which may be regarded as a fair sample of the species, and which is decidedly the most successful of them all. *L'Assassinat du Pont Rouge* is a story in one small volume, by a young writer named Charles Barbara; and it has become so popular, that a play founded upon the book has had a run of several months, and has been the means of large gain to the theatre where it was performed. We begin by premising that there must be some small genuine merit in this tale of *L'Assassinat du Pont Rouge*, some real interest in its plot, and in the delineation of the different characters it contains; for it is impossible to imagine anything worse written, or in which the charms of style have less attraction. The story is simply this. A stock-broker of the name of Thillard, who is supposed to have made a great deal of money, but at the same time to be in some slight pecuniary embarrassment brought on by his extravagant habits, all at once disappears from his home, and is, a short time afterward, found drowned in the Seine, with a portfolio upon him enclosing one hundred thousand francs. His widow, whom he neglected in his lifetime, is left so poor, that she gives lessons in music. She is thus brought into acquaintance with a man of the name of Clément, whose wife is desirous of lessons on the piano. An old servant of M. Thillard has devoted himself to the young widow's service, and without any remuneration, or the hope of any, he continues to perform the menial offices required in the little household of Madame Thillard and her mother, just as he would have done in the days of his employer's prosperity. One or two slight circumstances strike this man, and induce him to fix his suspicions upon Clément, and the sequel proves him to be right. Clément and his wife turn out to have been the joint murderers of M. Thillard, whom they put to death one night in a miserable lodging they occupied at the time near the Pont Rouge. The victim may be said to have sought his fate; for having, at an earlier period of his life, had an illicit connection with Rosalie, who became Clément's wife, he conceived the unlucky notion of paying this woman a farewell visit before leaving France, and escaping to England with £ 12,000, which he had stolen from his clients.

He stops to rest at Clément's lodgings, sends him for a bottle of wine to a wine-shop close by, and meanwhile informs both this man and Rosalie that he is obliged to flee from his country, and that he has in his portmanteau £12,000. Clément and his wife are in miserable circumstances, almost dying of hunger, and they see suddenly before them the means of being rich. Clément has poison always within his reach, — his intention for years having been to commit suicide if times grew too hard, — and the victim whom he might perhaps never have sought is there, self-offered, ready to his hand. The deed is done. Thillard is poisoned by the guilty couple, and his corpse dropped into the river with one hundred thousand francs, a third of what he bore upon him, put into a pocket-book in his coat. This fact precludes any notion of foul play when the body is discovered, and it is soon admitted that Thillard the stock-broker has made way with himself. Of course, in the discovery of the guilt of Clément and his wife, and in the fortuitous juxtaposition into which they are brought with Madame Thillard, their victim's widow, lie the elements of interest in the story. The plot is wrought out with considerable ability. It is not entirely original; for the murder of O'Connor by the Mannings evidently haunts M. Barbara, and if Edgar Poe's tales had never been translated into French, he might possibly be still in search of the form which best suited him.

A book of a totally different nature, and one which, for entirely different reasons, may be read over and over again, and always found full of fresh attractiveness, is the *Italia* of Theophile Gautier, now republished with considerable additions and revisions of the text. We object to one thing only, — the title. Why M. Gautier should call this book *Italia*, it is quite beyond our penetration to divine. Italy is not conceivable as a whole, as a type, without Florence and Naples, without its Southern cities, and, above all, without Rome. Now M. Gautier's little book is nothing but a rush from France to Venice by rail, with a carriage-window view of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and the small towns of Northern Italy. As a study of Venice, it is a gem, a priceless treasure, both to those who have and to those who have not seen the

glorious bridegroom city of the Adriatic. No man living can have had a more evident "call" to paint the city of the Doges than Theophile Gautier. He himself says, that "three towns in the whole world preoccupied him," and the three were Granada, Cairo, and that marvellous, dream-like vision of stone and marble which "sits enthroned on a hundred isles." Granada he has seen, and has given us a description of it gorgeous as itself; the other two he was yet to see, when some happy chance sent him a short time ago to visit the shores of the Adriatic. We will give in his own words the narrative of his arrival in Venice: —

"To reach in the night the place one has dreamed of for long, long years, may seem but a simple accident, a thing for which a traveller is not expected to care much, but it is one of those circumstances that contribute to irritate curiosity to a pitch of absolute exasperation. To penetrate into the retreat of one's chimera with blinded eyes, is fit to drive one distraught. I had experienced this already with regard to Granada, where the diligence deposited me at two in the morning, in the midst of a darkness the opacity of which was quite extraordinary."

If we were disposed to discuss the point with M. Gautier, we might suggest that Venice is, of all cities in the world, the fittest to enter for the first time by night. Every Italian city has its night life, but above every other Venice lives by night, and the night is inseparable from its very history. But to return to our author: —

"Our boat sped along a very wide canal at first, on the banks of which stood out in confused outline dim, dingy edifices, dotted here and there with half-lighted windows, and with torches stuck close to the walls, and casting a heavy, smoky trail of radiance over the black and trembling water; very soon, however, we struck into a labyrinth of liquid streets, very complicated in their windings, or which to us appeared so from our ignorance of the locality and from the darkness of the hour. A storm, all but spent, yet the caprices of whose close served us admirably, lit up the sky every now and then with its darting flashes, and cast livid brilliancy upon seemingly endless vistas, and upon the strange stone tracery of unknown palaces. At every moment we shot beneath some bridge, either end of which was marked by a broad, luminous spot, shining upon the dull, compact mass of the adjacent buildings. Shrines to the *Madonna*, these. At every corner of a

canal curious guttural cries were heard; a floating coffin, at whose extremity bent forward the shadow of a human form, glided rapidly by our side; a low window against which we brushed revealed to us an interior seen by the rays of a lamp, and resembling an *aqua fortis* of Rembrandt. Water-doors, bathed by the tide, opened to strange shapes, that disappeared and were seen no more; flights of stairs wound down to the wave, and then apparently wound their spirals up to some mysterious invisible abode; the tall, painted posts where the gondolas are moored, looked, before the melancholy fronts of the houses, like ghosts of the departed. On the tops of arches indistinct shapes watched us going by, as do the people we see in a dream. At times all lights were out, and gloomily we sped on, hemmed in, and as it were wrapped round, by four various darknesses, — the deep, damp, oily darkness of the water, the stormy darkness of the night sky, and the double and thick darkness of the wall on either side, revealed to us now and then by the red glare of our boat-lamp, which shone over broken steps, severed columns, wide-yawning iron-barred gates, and porticos swallowed up in sable gloom as soon as shown.

"Each object on which, in the dark, fell here and there the gleam of the vagrant ray, assumed at once an air mysterious, vague, fearful in the extreme, and out of all proportion. The water, always so formidable an element during the night, added to the general effect by its heavy roll and perpetual unrest. The dull gleam of street lights, few and far between, threw crimson tints as of blood, upon it, and the murky waves looked, to our mind, as though they were but a vast, thick cloak, beneath which lay a shoal of horrid crimes. We marvelled that we heard not the dull fall of a dead body from some balcony on high, or from some half-opened casement. Never did reality seem less real than on that night. We were driving through the very heart of some romance of Anne Radcliffe, or Monk Lewis, with illustrations by Goyen, or Piranesi, or Rembrandt. The old stories of the Three Inquisitors, of the Council of Ten, of the Bridge of Sighs, of masked spies and bottomless wells and scorching leads, and of the executions of the Canal Orfano, — all the melodrama, all the romance of ancient Venice, crowded back upon our memory. A sense of terror, black, cold, and damp as all that was around, clung inextricably to us, and we recalled involuntarily to our minds the words of *Malipieri* to *la Tisbe* in Hugo's *Angelo*, when he paints his singular, instinctive dread of whatever is Venetian."

Now this picture, which is perfectly accurate, could not have been painted by M. Gautier if he had arrived in Venice

by the light of day; and indeed he subsequently admits as much, saying: —

"The shades of night restore to her the mystery whereof she is shorn by daylight, and invest the most commonplace occurrences with an appearance of dramatic interest. Every door seems ajar to let through it a lover or an assassin, every gondola gliding silently by seems to bear away an enamored couple, or a dead body with a crystal poniard in its heart."

This is true, and we are not aware that the *unreal reality* which is so peculiarly the characteristic of Venice has ever been so skilfully painted as by Theophile Gautier. This is the charm of the book. It is not the Venice of historical tradition, or the Venice of Shakespeare, or the Venice of Byron, or any one's Venice of the past, that he reproduces to our eye. It is the Venice of to-day, — the Venice which is what she is, because she was all that the mighty dead have told and sung in bygone ages, — the Venice which is self-haunted, and through whose every canal, and across whose every *traghetto*, are wafted vague whispers of a civilization that has for ever ceased to be.

We sincerely recommend M. Gautier's book to all such as are curious about Venice, — and where are they who are not so? It is impregnated with what a German writer very aptly calls *Venetianismus*, and while in those who have not seen the Queen of the Adriatic it will increase the desire to pay court to her, to those who are familiar with her it will bring complete satisfaction.

From this charming volume to the little gem lying before us, and entitled *La Mode*, by the same author, there is less distance than might seem at first. It is as from one to another painting by an artist of strong individuality.

It might, if we had space, be worth our while to study the eminent and successful writers who are by native endowment and tendency artists rather than authors. We know of few more curious cases in point than Theophile Gautier. He has risen, there is no doubt, to be one of the remarkable writers of France; but he has done so by the qualities which evidently predestined him to be something else than a writer. If the same amount of culture had been awarded to his artistic in-

stincts that was expended upon those general literary aptitudes which modern education appears to consider as equal in all men alike, he would probably have been far more remarkable as a painter than he is as a writer. He is wholly a painter; and because he is so, his writings interest us, for they describe what he really sees, and not what his neighbor sees for him. But it is impossible not to perceive in all he writes that he does not produce what he has conceived in the form in which he conceived it. It does not come to the public *immediately*, but *mediately*, being a painting first, and then the description of a painting, vivid beyond what perhaps any one else could achieve.

This duality of impression is to be noted in every line Gautier writes; but perhaps never more than in *La Mode*. This is a diminutive book of about five or six inches square, and contains thirty-three pages, of fourteen lines each, printed upon thick-ribbed paper, and with a crimson line-edging between the letter-press and the white margin. It is altogether a very exquisite little production, and, only thirty copies of it having been printed, it is no slight good fortune to have become the possessor of one.

The object of this pretty little publication is to defend the fashions of the present day from the persistent attacks levelled at them, and to do so from a picturesque point of view. This may seem strange; but there is no denying that in many respects M. Gautier has right and reason on his side. He is, for instance, quite right and quite reasonable when he flies in the face of all that tribe of would-be artists who are for ever railing about the "antique," and declaring that both painting and sculpture are dying out because men and women wear clothes. This is one of the most curious shapes of the impotence of our epoch, and one which those who ought to know better do not scruple to admit, and set forth even as an unanswerable plea for the artistic inferiority of the present age. M. Gautier attacks the absurd fallacy in his very first lines.

"I wish to know why the art of clothing is abandoned to seamstresses and tailors, in that very civilization where, precisely, dress is of manifest importance, seeing that, on account of moral conventions and climate, the outlines of the human form are never visible. The dress of

a human being in our day is *his skin;* from it we never see him separate; it adheres to him as does the skin to the animal, and there is no absolute necessity that we should ever know what are the beauties or the defects of the human body in its natural condition. . . . . It is only by consulting the bronzes and marbles of antiquity that artists ever attain to a conception of the *human ideal* represented in statues and bas-reliefs. But what connection is there between what may be denominated these abstract forms, and those of the garmented spectators who contemplate them? None. Seem they of the same race? In no manner whatever."

M. Gautier then starts from the principle that, the art of antiquity having been only the copy of the humanity and civilization of antiquity, and having for that very reason, and because of its truth, been so beautiful, the art of our times must necessarily, inevitably, be of a totally different order, for the reason that, if it were not so, it would be at variance with our civilization and with our humanity.

"Sculptors and painters complain loudly of the dress of modern times. According to them, this it is which prevents them from sending forth masterpieces of genius into the world. Black coats, crinolines, and paletots are the obstacles to these gentlemen being so many Velasquezes, and Titians, and Van Dycks. Yet these great men portrayed their contemporaries in attire, which no less, if not more, than ours, hid the outline of the naked figure from view. Sometimes even, the vestments they had to paint were out of the way, and ungraceful. There is nothing, — whatever our artists may say to the contrary, — there is nothing which should cause them so bitterly to regret that young dandies now-a-days do not go about draped in bright-hued mantles, and sporting red plumes upon their hats."

M. Gautier is right here. The painter of to-day who cannot reproduce on his canvas the sleeve of a cloth coat, and who, above all, is incapable of putting a real, living arm inside of it, would do no better with the gaudy cloak of the sixteenth century; and the master who, in that age, threw a scarlet plume so boldly upon his model's head, would, in this, know how to give value to a *wide-awake*, or to the glossiest sable hat ever set upon the head of a physician or a railway director.

But M. Gautier's boldest stroke of all is that aimed in fa-

vor of crinoline. Upon this point he enters into no discussion, but at once affirms crinoline to be the "right thing." When he reaches this part of his treatise on fashion, he writes: —

"What can you say in favor of crinolines, of petticoats circled round like tubs, or of those that have springs to be set in order by the clock-maker when they go wrong? Is not all this an abomination, hideous and contrary to all art? Such is not our opinion, and ladies are right to hold by crinoline, in despite of the caricatures and jokes and vaudevilles of the other sex. They do right to prefer those ample petticoats, rich, heavy, broadly spreading to the view, to the wretched umbrella-cases in which their grandmothers were imprisoned. From the many folds of a modern skirt, flowing gracefully downward, the waist emerges elegant and slender, the shoulders and neck rise advantageously upward, and the whole figure has a certain pyramidal grace. The stiff, rich stuffs of the gown form as it were a pedestal, on which the bust is seen to evident advantage. Most seriously, it is our deliberate conviction, that a lady in our times, dressed for a ball, with bare arms and neck, and bearing on her head one of the coiffures of recent invention, draped in the flowing silks or satins of her double skirts, or innumerable flounces, — that such a lady is as well and as picturesquely attired as she can ever be, and does in every way satisfy the exigencies of art. Unhappily, *we have no contemporary art;* the artists who, as we fancy, live in our times, belong in reality to epochs that are for ever past. Antiquity misapprehended prevents them from feeling the present. They have a preconceived notion of the beautiful, and the modern ideal is what they do not even guess at."

Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the picturesqueness of contemporary dress, he has expressed in those few last words what is an undeniable truth. There is no genuine "contemporary art," and the irremissible error of nearly every artist of our epoch is the blindness here pointed out to the ideal of modern ages. Cousin, in his work on *Le Vrai, le Beau, et le Bien*, has most truly said, "*Tout a son idéal*," and never was a better lesson conveyed than in those words; but the fault of the artists of this day is to banish and confine the ideal to some few conventional forms and epochs, and to put it, as it were, out of the reach of modern art. Strangely enough, the very thinker who has, upon this subject, taught his countrymen, in theory, what they most need to learn, is one of those who, in practice, have departed the

farthest from the substance of his own teachings. M. Cousin knows, as he has so well said, that "in all things is to be found the ideal"; yet he in his turn falls into the error these very words confute, and most evidently finds his ideal of all modern civilization in one period alone, and that a period for ever past, and no characteristic of which can ever be revived. Out of the beginning of the seventeenth century he is incapable of discerning anything admirable. With the majority of Louis XIV. ends for him the era during which the men and women of his country are worthy to be chronicled.

We are not about to fall into the opposite extreme, but we could wish, in so great a writer and thinker as Cousin, a little less exclusiveness, historically speaking. However, there is this to be said, that, in commenting upon the principal work of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, he has rendered what may be termed an archæological service beyond all price. The manner of life of the *Grand Siècle* was so extremely *grand*, so full of "pomp and circumstance," so almost entirely confined to representation, that, however well read or well informed the historical student might be upon the events and personages of that time, he scarcely found it practicable to reproduce those personages as living to his mind's eye. In this respect M. Cousin's commentaries on *La Clef du Grand Cyrus* are extremely precious, for he gives us the report of the very eye-witnesses of the day to what in that day was enacted.

In a literary point of view, the works of Madame de Scudéry have really less than no value at all; for they would be a downright punishment to any one who should undertake to read them for his amusement, and they have been the origin of a perfectly detestable school in the literature of fiction; but as reflectors of a state of civilization for ever extinct, as records of the every-day life and habits of some of the most illustrious individuals in French history, the Scudéry novels are valuable documents. It is in this light that M. Cousin has regarded them, and in this light only that they can seem interesting to the reader of our times.

Le Grand Cyrus is an interminable romance, in Heaven knows how many volumes, written in pretentious, and at the same time unartistical French, and full of incidents of the most

sickly sentimentalism; and yet it is simply the somewhat poetized biography of the youth of the great Condé, and to any one who desires to be transported two hundred and twenty years back, and to feel as though he had lived in the intimacy of dead heroes and queenly dames, the two volumes before us will grant his wish as surely as would the fabled mirror of the Florentine magician. In *La Clef du Grand Cyrus*, as it now appears with M. Cousin's notes, we see the society of the seventeenth century, not as this historian or that may believe it to have been, but as that society saw itself, and judged of its own component parts. The portraits contained in Madame Scudéry's *Cyrus* are those which, at the time she wrote, and when the models were yet living, were considered likenesses, and to M. Cousin's patience we owe the ascertainment of the name to be written beneath each portrait. We repeat it, as an historical document, the book is a precious one; but we are not quite sure that we rejoice over the employment of so lofty a genius as Cousin's in the mere work of cataloguing.

A work which, far from registering the deeds of past ages, is concerned solely with the present, is that entitled *Essais sur l'Époque Actuelle*, by Emile Montégut, the young and distinguished contributor to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, with whose name readers on this side of the Atlantic are familiar, from the very excellently written pages he has more than once devoted to the contemporary productions of American literature.

One of the chief characteristics of Montégut is his absolute want of prejudice. He is singularly superior in this respect to the greater portion of his countrymen, who usually see no merit in what is not French, and for the most part find it almost impossible to understand what does not square with the civilization of France. Montégut is essentially a moralist, and as such his Essays, as collected, have much more value than when they appeared in an isolated form, and at intervals, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The book reads well as a whole, and hangs together, although, in its component parts, it treats of subjects widely various, and seemingly little connected one with another. It would perhaps be difficult to

find, in any modern author, so correct and so thoroughly impartial a judgment upon France, as that contained in the first article in the volume, entitled, *Du Gen'e Français*. Let our readers judge from the following quotation what must be the perspicacity and the candor of the writer, with whom we would bring them more nearly acquainted: —

"France is, as far as outward appearances go, the country easiest of all to judge; but in reality it is the most difficult of all to understand, and hitherto all the opinions given upon the subject may be ranged under the two following absolutely contradictory propositions: 'France is a monarchical country,' and 'France is a revolutionary country.' The revolutionary race, *par excellence!* exclaims the historian, who would make France date from 1789, and who chooses to forget that she was previously the most royalist of all nations. An anti-religious people! cries another, oblivious of the facts that the Church was upheld, the Papacy restored, by the sword of France, and the Reformation stopped in its development by the obstinate fidelity of France to her old ecclesiastical traditions. Race devoted to its ancient institutions, and which only the quarrels of the last sixty years of storm and tempest have caused to be ill-understood! ejaculate in answer the publicists of a certain school, — and, alas! this opinion is no better founded in reality than the other. The truth is, that France, the country of all contradictions, is at one and the same time given to innovate with fury, and to be obstinately conservative; she is simultaneously revolutionary and traditional, Utopian and wedded to routine. In no country do things pass away from memory as in France, and in none are they remembered with such tenacity. Yes, the French race is a race both revolutionary and traditional, for him that knows how to read it aright; revolutionary, because its political metamorphoses have been more numerous than elsewhere; traditional, because, under no matter what outward form, the same identical spirit is to be eternally observed."

If unlimited space lay before us, we could be well pleased to cite page after page of M. Montégut's volume; but the shortest way then would be to recommend the perusal of it to the public on this side of the Atlantic. We will close our quotations by the following, which is one of the most remarkable passages in the book, and happily touches upon what marks the difference between the social civilization of the Latin and the Saxon races, — upon the position, namely, of the individual in society.

"The great danger of modern society was pointed out thirty years ago by M. Royer-Collard, when he said, 'Thanks to centralization, all business that is not our own personal and immediate business is now the business of the state.' And thus it is that the revolution, whilst attempting the so-called emancipation of the individual, nevertheless multiplied the obstacles opposed to the development of *individualism*. How did this happen? The revolution was an external and a negative fact. Its promoters believed that, in order to make men free, it was necessary only to throw down the institutions that hemmed them round. A protestation in favor of the individual the revolution therefore was, in utter ignorance of what constituted individualism; that is, the free, unshackled effort of the human soul, acting, as it were, upon itself. The revolution started from what was exterior, and, ignoring the living elements of society, it attacked its outward seemings, which were the effect instead of the cause of mischief, and let alone the individual, for whom and by whom all external institutions are. The institutions were changed, but the soul of the race remained unaltered. No moral reform had been dreamed of, and no gradual transformation had prepared the individual for his new destiny. Delivered from all exterior obstacles, he found himself such as he had been formed by those very obstacles; the old *régime* was abolished, and those who abolished it were shaped after its image. Monarchy was destroyed, but by men whose entire education was monarchical. For the first time in history, it might be remarked that the enemies of a certain existing order of things differed in no one single point from the defenders of that same order of things. *All* the actors in the revolution were cast in the same mould; their characters, habits, manners, likes and dislikes, — all were the same. Thus the individual remained such as the old constitution of society had made him, and, at the very hour when he cast off all his political chains, he was still chained down by the moral bonds of education and social habits. The work of destruction was perfect, but there was no work of regeneration."

We strongly recommend the whole of this volume to our readers. They will derive from it a more impartial knowledge of society and of the individual in France, than might be drawn from many heavy folios of political or historical lore. M. Montégut knows his countrymen intimately, and has painted them impartially, — a merit that belongs to but few.

ART. IX. — *Memoir of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians.* By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 422.

WE doubt whether there are anywhere else so patent grounds for an honest ancestral pride as in New England, and among the scions of the Puritan stock. Where power, rank, or entailed and inalienable wealth is transmitted with the name, a cause of malign agency intervenes to impair the heritage of a father's virtues; and the *novus homo*, the first of his race, the founder of his family, is likely to have few equals among those who succeed to his honors. The expectation from early childhood of office, title, or estate to accrue independently of meritorious efforts to win or to keep it, while it may sometimes stimulate a generous ambition, much oftener relaxes the energy of mind, and lowers the tone of character. Thus in any royal or noble house of long standing, if we find some whose genius and virtue have reflected lustre upon the family name, they are interspersed at rare intervals among those to whom the name alone gave lustre. On the other hand, of the fathers of New England there were not a few whose posterity, in each of the seven or more generations that have intervened, have done ample honor to their progenitors. There are among the earliest names on our records those which have never failed to be borne by men of high eminence in church or state, of commanding influence, of impregnable uprightness, of venerable sanctity. Thus continuous threads of holy light mark in our annals the lines of descent from those men of whom the world was not worthy.

We therefore admire the sound philosophy which has led Dr. Thompson to devote a distinct chapter of his Life of Stoddard to "A Godly Ancestry." We are prepared to believe all that is good of one in whom the Stoddard and the Tappan lineage unite; and, after reading that chapter, all the rest of the biography flows like a series of corollaries from a demonstrated proposition in mathematics. The richness of these parent stocks has been reinforced at every stage of their

history, by intermarriage with families of similar claims to respect and reverence. Thus Anthony Stoddard, the first of the name in New England, a man of no small mark in his day, and for more than twenty years a representative of Boston in the General Court, married a niece of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts. Their son, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, whose personal presence was so majestic as to lead the Indians to suppose him the "Englishman's God," and whose influence was so great that a sect of some vitality took its name from him, married a daughter of Rev. John Warham, an eminent divine from Exeter, England, who became the first pastor of the church in Windsor, Connecticut. The wife of their son, Colonel John Stoddard, who had no superior, perhaps no equal, in the Province, as to weight of character, prudence in counsel, and energy in action, was descended from a sister of Thomas Hooker, the first minister of Cambridge, and chief founder of Connecticut. We might follow with similar results the alliances of David Tappan Stoddard's maternal ancestry, and might trace the confluence in him of a singularly large proportion of the best blood of the most genuine aristocracy the world has yet seen.

David was born in Northampton, December 2, 1818. His boyhood was distinguished equally for amiable and for energetic traits of character. He was prepared for college at the Round Hill School, then under the supervision of Professor Cogswell, now of the Astor Library, George Bancroft, and his own brother, Solomon Stoddard, afterward Professor of Latin in Middlebury College, and well known as one of the authors of the Latin Grammar which has superseded almost all others in our seminaries of learning. In the autumn of 1834 he entered the Sophomore Class of Williams College, and after remaining there one year entered as Sophomore at Yale College. Piously educated, and surrounded from the dawn of his being by the holiest influences and the best examples, he had been no stranger to profoundly serious impressions; but they were transient, and alternated with seasons of indifference, until the spring of 1836, when, during a period of unusual religious interest in the College, and (as we gather from the modest narrative) through the agency of the class-

mate who has become his biographer, he was led into the fold of the Redeemer, and yielded himself up in penitence and faith to the love and service of God. The gospel ministry, to which a mother's prayers had destined him from infancy, was now his choice and goal, and he thus early yearned to devote himself to some department of the field of foreign missions, yet without settled purpose or definite aim. Among the college studies, he made unusual proficiency in mathematics, astronomy, and the natural sciences, in which, before the close of his Junior year, he had acquired so solid a reputation, that he received the offer of a scientific post in the United States Exploring Expedition then about to sail for the South Pacific. A letter to one of his brothers expresses his decision on this offer, and his reasons for it, in terms so strongly indicative of Christian manliness, and so vividly characteristic as viewed in connection with his subsequent life, that we cannot forbear quoting the following paragraph.

"A subject has recently been brought before my mind, for consideration, in regard to which I regretted that I could not have your advice. Application was made to me by government on the recommendation of one of our Professors, to go out to the Southern Sea, on the Exploring Expedition now fitting out. The office proffered was that of Secretary, on board one of the vessels, and the duties of that office something of the following nature: to keep the course and distance of the ship, including occasional astronomical observations, — to write a sub-journal of the expedition, which would be of considerable importance, as this vessel is to do most of the exploring. The salary is fixed at near seven hundred and fifty dollars per annum, with an outfit of three or four hundred. It was considered here a very advantageous situation for a young man, and my friends, many of them, advised my acceptance. I even went so far as to write home in favor of the plan, thinking that it might make me more robust, and better fitted, *physically*, to perform the duties of life on my return. I was assured that I could procure without difficulty a degree on my return, and receive an education as good as by a regular course. But serious reflection, and, I trust, guidance from on high, dissipated the illusion which deceived me, and set before me arguments too great to be surmounted for declining the enterprise. I could not go as a Christian; for little opportunity would be afforded me of doing good, and such a voyage *might* have a very unhappy effect on my Christian character. I could not go as a man of

the world; for I have a Master, whose I am and whom I am ever bound to serve. Were I to look only at time, and ask myself what course would be likely to advance me in worldly science, I might accept the offer. I could not, however, forget the interests of eternity and the life which I had chosen, or rather I hope I may say, the life to which I have been chosen, that of an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Parents and the family at home disapprove of the idea no less than myself; and I presume you will coincide with us all in opinion." — p. 63.

This noble act of self-denial proved no check upon Mr. Stoddard's pursuit of science. Possessed of an unusual degree of mechanical skill, he constructed a telescope of considerable magnifying power, and made for himself an independent series of astronomical observations. Though this course of study was followed with some earnest self-questioning as to its bearing on the profession of his choice, he afterward had reason to believe that he pursued it under Providential guidance; for the manual dexterity and scientific knowledge thus acquired were turned to uses of essential importance in his missionary career.

He was graduated with honor, and almost immediately entered on the office of Tutor in Marshall College, Pennsylvania, declining a permanent and honorable academic appointment in a Western college from the same motives which had decided him against the South Sea Expedition. In the autumn of 1839 he entered the Andover Theological Seminary, where he remained for one year, during which his class enjoyed the special instruction of Professor Stuart. In the autumn of 1840, he accepted a tutorship in his Alma Mater, as affording him the means of self-support, and enabling him at the same time to continue his theological studies under favorable auspices. In this charge, as in his earlier tutorship, he was not only the diligent and painstaking teacher, but the religious instructor, guide, and friend of the youth committed to his oversight, and his letters betray all the tender solicitude of a Christian pastor, and emotions of the purest gladness in the Divine blessing on his labors.

In 1842, Mr. Stoddard received license as a preacher. In September of that year he became acquainted with Rev. Justin Perkins, D. D., of the Nestorian mission, who had recently

returned to the United States, bringing with him the Nestorian bishop, Mar Yohannan, with the view of exciting in the churches a warmer interest in behalf of that ancient people and that most inviting field of evangelic labor. Dr. Perkins at once marked Mr. Stoddard as the coadjutor he desired in his great enterprise, and the young divine, after brief deliberation, deemed it his duty to accept the call, and offer himself for the work. He was ordained at New Haven in January, 1843, and on the first day of March following he embarked at Boston for Smyrna, with his young wife, the daughter of Dr. Calvin Briggs of Marblehead, and in company with Dr. and Mrs. Perkins, and four other missionaries.

The Nestorians may claim to be the oldest body of Christians now in existence. It has been contended, but with no conclusive evidence, that they are descended from the lost ten tribes of the Hebrews. However this may be, their traditions refer the Christian discipleship of their ancestors to the Apostle Thomas, and their standard edition of the Scriptures is the Peschito, confessedly the oldest translation of the New Testament, and the earliest of the Old under Christian auspices. They derived their name as a sect from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was excommunicated as a heretic by the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431. A prominent charge urged against him was his refusal to apply to the Virgin Mary the title of Θεοτόκος, *Mother of God.* Probably this was the ground of the other principal charge, which he perseveringly denied, of investing Christ with two persons as well as with two natures. "It is worthy of inquiry," writes Dr. Perkins, "whether Nestorius may not have been far more Evangelical than his opponents, and whether his comparative purity, in the general corruption of the Church which prevailed at that period, may not have been the principal cause of the rigor with which he was treated." At the commencement of the American mission, the Nestorians had long been destitute of the doctrines and the attributes of spiritual Christianity; but at the same time their creed contained a smaller admixture of obnoxious elements than that of any other non-Protestant church. They abhorred image-worship, auricular confession, and the doctrine of Purgatory, and maintained the supreme

and infallible authority of the Scriptures. They were simple in their manners and habits, comparatively pure in their morals, kindly disposed toward other sects, and desirous of instruction and improvement. It was believed that such a people offered a peculiarly propitious soil for a higher Christian culture, especially as the existing ecclesiastical organization opposed no obstacles to that endeavor, and the more intelligent of the clergy were ready at once to participate in its benefits, and to aid in its extension. The generous purpose was conceived of leaving the ancient Church unchanged in its external arrangements and order by foreign interference, while there should be breathed into it anew the long-lost religious life, which in its primitive days had been so pure and true. It was believed that there might thus be established a centre for the most extended missionary operations in the East, and not only so, but that this very people might furnish at once faithful and efficient agents in the diffusion of the Gospel, and patent proof of its divinity and power in their example as a Christian community.

The larger portion of the Nestorians inhabit the wildest regions of the Koordish mountains. These are nomadic in their mode of living, poor, subject to the depredations of their Koordish neighbors, and debarred alike from the functions and the privileges of civilized humanity. About one fourth of this people dwell in the city and on the plain of Oroomiah, where the necessaries of life are easily procured, and their condition is, on the whole, favored and happy, though not without occasional instances of extortion and oppression by their Mohammedan masters. The entire Nestorian population does not exceed one hundred and forty thousand. Their vernacular language is the ancient Syriac, modified by time and the attrition of other tongues, and their sacred language — that of their books and worship — is believed to be the same with that currently spoken in Judæa at the Christian era, and hallowed by the lips of the Divine Teacher.

We can easily conceive of the intense enthusiasm with which a man of Mr. Stoddard's finely-toned sympathies and generous culture entered on the service of a people so rich in memories of early time, and in hopeful tokens of restoration

to primitive simplicity and piety. On the outward passage, the new missionaries were engaged in the daily study of the language of the Nestorians, under the tuition of Dr. Perkins. Their passage was rough, but short. From Smyrna they made the circuit of various missionary stations in Turkey, before commencing their long overland journey from Trebizond, "across the mountains of Armenia and the plains of Persia," to Oroomiah. This city had been the first permanent site of the mission; but the intensity of its summer heat compelled the members of the mission to establish a second station on higher ground. Accordingly, some two years before Mr. Stoddard's arrival, a retreat had been prepared upon Mount Seir, and the necessary buildings constructed. The following account of the mountain and the plain is from a letter of Mr. Stoddard to Professor Olmsted.

"The village of Seir is in the province of Oroomiah, in Northern Persia, in latitude 37° 28′ 18″ north, and in approximate longitude 45° east from Greenwich. We are about forty miles from the boundary of Turkey, and one hundred and fifty from that of Russia. The village is on the grassy slope of the mountain, which rises 2,834 feet above the neighboring city of Oroomiah, and 7,334 above the ocean. The side of the mountain on which we live faces the northeast, and is consequently somewhat bleak in winter. The snow also lies upon it in the spring long after it has disappeared from the southwestern side.

"From the village of Seir we look down on the very beautiful and extensive plain of Oroomiah, forty miles in length, and from twelve to twenty miles in breadth, which possesses a deep alluvial soil, and bears on its fertile bosom several hundred villages. The city of Oroomiah, the ancient Thebarma, situated near the centre of the plain, as well as many of the villages, is surrounded by innumerable gardens and orchards, and rows of poplars, willows, and sycamores, which make large portions of the plain resemble a continued forest. The mountains of Koordistan encircle the plain on three sides, while to the east lies the lake of Oroomiah, studded with islands, and reflecting the pure azure of an Italian sky.

"This plain is watered by three rivers of moderate size, which come down from the Koordish mountains, and are distributed by a network of small canals and water-courses over its whole surface. Without artificial irrigation, but few crops can be brought to maturity, although here and there wheat-fields are cultivated on the slopes of the neighbor-

ing mountains, which are wholly dependent on the rains of the spring and early summer, and sometimes yield a tolerable harvest.

"The principal productions of the plain of Oroomiah, the annual mean temperature of which is, of course, considerably above that of Seir, are wheat, barley, corn, millet, flax, tobacco, rice, cotton, castor-oil, apples, pears, plums, grapes (which are cultivated in immense vineyards), cherries, apricots, nectarines, peaches, melons, pomegranates, almonds, and the jujube. The fig, with care, may be also cultivated, but is often destroyed by the cold of winter.

"The lake of Oroomiah, the ancient Spautes, is about ninety miles long by thirty broad. Its elevation above the ocean is 4,100 feet. Its water has been analyzed by President Hitchcock; its specific gravity is 1.155. The lake exerts, of course, a marked influence on the climate of this region, and produces a regular land and sea breeze in the summer months. During the day a light wind blows from the lake, and during the night a fresher wind from the lofty mountains of Koordistan, which rise, some forty miles west of the lake, to a height of ten or twelve, or perhaps thirteen thousand feet above the ocean, and generally retain on their summits, even in summer, deep masses of snow. The amount of watery vapor is thus probably much greater in Oroomiah than in many parts of Persia, which present almost the barrenness of the Arabian deserts.

"It should be mentioned in this connection, that all the mountains of Northern Persia are destitute of trees, and many of them rise to a great height, in naked, rocky summits. Indeed, in the valleys and on the plains it is rare to find any trees except those planted by the hand of man, and a stranger, as he looks down on the luxuriant plain of Oroomiah, can hardly be made to believe that the millions of trees before him are entirely an artificial growth." — pp. 129, 130.

Mr. Stoddard carried his telescope to Mount Seir, and soon found that the knowledge which he was thus enabled to lay open and make visible to the intelligent and educated Persians with whom he came in contact, was the means of undermining their prejudices against Christianity, of winning their personal respect and confidence, of impairing their faith in astrology, which in the Koran is constantly recognized as a valid science, and in various ways of insinuating the great spiritual truths of the Gospel. At the same time, for the youth under his tuition it is hardly possible to overrate the religious importance of just notions as to the physical universe, in a state of society in which every scientific error is a burrowing-

place for some inveterate superstition, and falsities about God, the soul and eternity are buttressed by falsities about material objects. The following extract from one of his letters contains one instance, among many, of the good account to which he turned the observation of the heavens.

"I am more impressed — *much* more — with the *general* influence exerted by the missionaries than before I came. In all this part of Persia they are softening prejudice, inspiring respect for European manners and civilization, and thus doing much for the planting of the Gospel among these Mussulmans. Were you to be here a month, you would feel this deeply, as I do. For example: the other day one of their great moolahs, the menajim bashee, the chief astrologer, or, if you please, the 'astronomer royal,' came to see my telescope. He is a remarkably intelligent man, though he holds to the Ptolemaic system of the world. He is, however, well acquainted with our views. He went away, as many others have done, who have seen the electrical apparatus and other European inventions, saying, with a stroke of the beard, 'God is great,' or, 'Truly you are the wise ones of the earth.' I showed this man the belts and moons of Jupiter, the rings of Saturn, and one or more of his satellites, the gibbous appearance of Mars, and some of the wonders of the Milky Way. Now this is not saving a soul, and I deeply feel it; but you will at once see that influence thus gained over the most talented and influential men is to tell on the destiny of Persia. And if moolahs will permit us to take them by the hand and lead them in paths of science, tell me, is it unreasonable to think the time not distant when we can lead them to the Lamb of God? O, I long to have my tongue *untied* to speak to this people in their own language the wonderful works of God." — pp. 136, 137.

Mr. Stoddard rapidly acquired the vernacular Syriac, and within five months from his arrival at Oroomiah was able to take a prominent part in the instruction dispensed in the missionary schools, and soon afterward to preach intelligibly to native congregations. He acquired also by degrees an available knowledge of the Turkish; while at the same time he studied the ancient Syriac, with the view of assisting Dr. Perkins in the translation of the Peschito into the vernacular dialect. His chief work was that of instruction in the schools; but his labors as a preacher were frequent and arduous, and he often made preaching tours among the numerous villages scattered over the plain. In addition to his toil on the elementary

branches of education, he had the chief charge of what was virtually a theological seminary, and carried those designed to exercise the clerical office among their countrymen through an extended and thorough course of Biblical criticism and dogmatic theology. But, in whatever labors he was engaged, he never lost sight of the great end of Christian conversion and discipleship. And in this he was richly blessed. Often his days were passed, and sleepless nights employed, in personal conference with one after another of his pupils, as they were aroused to a vivid sense of their need of salvation, oppressed by the burden of conscious sin, and earnestly seeking the hope that is full of immortality. There occurred under his ministry and that of his colleagues several seasons analogous in all their most hopeful features and their most gratifying results to the revivals of religion in Protestant Christendom. The awakening voice was first heard in the schools, and thence propagated through the surrounding villages, till those who had cast the precious seed into the soil, with anxious thoughts of a remote and slowly maturing harvest, could hardly ply the sickle fast enough for the ripening sheaves. If ever man had joy which angels might envy, such is the gladness poured forth in touching eloquence by Mr. Stoddard, as he reports these seasons and numbers up these trophies of his toil in letters to his friends and the Missionary Board at home. Who can read the following narrative of what took place in the village of Geog Tapa, and doubt that the missionary enterprise is equally the sacred duty and the priceless privilege of those who know for their own hearts and lives the blessedness of Christian faith and piety?

"I have delayed thus far to speak of Geog Tapa, because the work there has been so marked and glorious as to deserve a separate consideration. The precious seed which had been sown year after year in that village, — the fact that special interest had been manifested there the previous summer, — the connection of so many ecclesiastics with us as native helpers, and the comparatively large number of its youth in the two seminaries, nearly all of whom were awakened and hopefully converted, — the frequent mention of this village in the letters of the Committee and of our private friends, showing that it was remembered at the throne of grace, — all these things naturally led us, at an early

period of the revival, to turn our eyes to Geog Tapa, and to expect there a powerful display of the grace of God. Nor were we disappointed. The visitors from that place to our seminaries were, from the first, so numerous, especially on the Sabbath; so many of our pupils visited there in their turn; and we have been able, by personal labors and by the aid of our most experienced native helpers, to keep the truth so constantly before the minds of the people, that the revival in Geog Tapa has been closely identified, both in its character and results, with that which we have enjoyed on our own premises. Early in February some interest was manifested in one of the schools, which gradually increased, till many of all classes were deeply moved. About a month later, when the seminaries had a vacation of ten days, I had the pleasure, with Miss Fisk, of spending some portion of it in that village. While there had been but few conversions, there was a great deal of inquiry, and our pupils expounded the Scriptures every evening in ten or twelve different places, to attentive audiences. Everything was marked by a deep stillness, which indicated to us the presence of God's Spirit. And from that time forward converts were multiplied, and the blessed work went on with increasing power.

"It would be interesting, were there time, to dwell on the particular features of the revival there, and to describe the individual cases which have, during its progress, affected us so deeply. Suffice it to say, that there are many mouths which before were full of cursing and bitterness, that are now filled with the praises of God. An entire change has taken place in the habits and manners of the village. Property has become secure from thieves to an extent never before known. The name of reviler, or quarreller, or profane swearer, has become one of great reproach. Prayer-meetings are frequent, and attended by many who love to pray. The Sabbath is regarded as the Lord's day, and not unblushingly profaned, as before, by secular employments. And while there are, of course, many in the village hardened to the truth, and a few who feel the present order of things to be an uncomfortable restraint, the sentiment of the village is strongly in favor of peace, sobriety, and vital religion. At a recent communion season, a time at which disorders were formerly allowed, scarcely less gross than those which disgraced the Corinthian Church, about two hundred remained after the unintelligible service in the ancient language, to celebrate the ordinance in a solemn and reverential manner. The service was conducted with prayer, singing, and other exercises, very much in imitation of our own method; and the pious natives connected with us, who were present, regarded it as one of the most delightful occasions they had ever witnessed. Do not such great changes, in one of the most intelligent and

prominent Nestorian villages, promise for us a brighter day than any which has yet dawned upon us? Who, even of the most sanguine of our number, would have believed, a year ago, that in Geog Tapa two hundred persons would this summer have sat with solemnity around the table of their dying Lord, realizing, in some measure, the meaning of the ordinance?* And whose heart does not overflow with thanksgiving and praise, when he remembers that scores of these are giving consistent and increasing evidence of piety? I am informed within a few days, that there is not a single vineyard in the village in which there is not at least one praying laborer; and it is well known that the men and women, most of whom cannot read, go to their daily toil, singing along the way the hymns which they have learned from the children in the schools. In the threshing-floors little closets are made for prayer, among the stacks of wheat. To these places those who love to pray retire, and, closing the entrance after them with a sheaf of wheat, hold communion with God.

"As it is a considerable time since I have visited Geog Tapa, I am obliged, in reporting the present state of the village, to rely mainly on others. But it seems to be a fact, that hundreds there are in the daily habit of secret prayer; and that fifty of them, exclusive of the members of our seminaries, and our native helpers, are born into the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Quite a number of the hopeful converts are *young men*, who are very active in labors among the people, and who every Sabbath go out to all the villages around to proclaim the Gospel." — pp. 226 – 229.

We are compelled to be brief, and cannot pursue, as we gladly would, the detailed narrative of Mr. Stoddard's labors. His health early became impaired, in part from the debilitating influence of the climate, in part from a diligence too seldom intermitted for relaxation and repose. After several journeys, unattended by permanent relief, the alternative seemed to be speedy dissolution or a visit to his native country. He chose the latter, as his duty to his family and the mission. With his wife, nurse, and two children, he arrived at Trebizond in the summer of 1848. There his wife died of cholera, after an illness of a few hours, in perfect peace. The nurse soon followed her, and the invalid — not heart-broken, for his letters

* "All, among the Nestorians, old and young, pious and depraved, have hitherto been accustomed to partake of the sacrament, thinking it had some inherent efficacy in it, as a saving ordinance. Many now in Geog Tapa absent themselves through fear of the curse of God."

breathe only serene submission — embarked with the sole charge of his motherless children. He remained in this country two years and a half. His health was restored, though not his full power of endurance. While here, he was not idle. He addressed churches, public meetings, great assemblies, in behalf of the missionary cause and his beloved Nestorians. He conducted an extensive correspondence, in the same interest, with his colleagues in Persia, and in aid of his and their plans. In February, 1851, he was married to Miss Sophia D. Hazen, and on the 4th of March following embarked with his wife and daughter, and three other missionaries, for Smyrna.

On his return to the mission, Mr. Stoddard entered with new zeal on the self-denying service to which he had nearly fallen a victim. His schools, his frequent preaching, his visits from house to house among the villages, might have seemed sufficient for a constitution once so seriously impaired. But, with all his other onerous duties, he found time to prepare a Grammar of the Modern Syriac, for the use of future missionaries, which was published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society for 1855, and was noticed with strong commendation by Rödiger, the highest living authority. He was now in the full maturity of his powers, and was regarded by his associates as an eminently judicious counsellor in the many difficult practical questions constantly occurring, as to modes of usefulness, methods of propitiating or overcoming opposition, and the increasingly complicated and perplexing relations between them and the native priesthood. He again manifested symptoms of incipient disease; yet was permitted to enjoy several years, the least interrupted and the most prosperous of his missionary life. But a higher Wisdom ordained that his sun should go down at midday. In the autumn of 1856 the attitude of the Persian government toward the mission rendered it desirable that a deputation should visit the civic functionaries at Tabreez. Mr. Stoddard was selected for this service. The journey was performed on horseback, and he preached frequently by the way. His negotiations gave him much anxiety, and on his homeward route he was seized with premonitory symptoms of typhus fever. However, for thirteen

days after his return, he pursued his usual routine of duty. On Christmas day he was obliged to confine himself to his bed. At the end of the first fortnight, the disease seemed to be arrested; but it soon returned, and for eighteen days he lingered on the confines of the grave. During a portion of this time, his mind was clear, and his soul sustained and gladdened by the felt presence of the Saviour, upborne by holy hymns, in the enjoyment of sweet peace and unshadowed hope. During the accesses of delirium, his words were those of trust and prayer. On Thursday night, January 22, 1857, he was translated to the heavenly society. "Eleven years before, on that very evening, he was rejoicing over the first converts of the first revival, and pointing awakened souls to the cross of Christ; and perhaps some of those souls were among the blood-washed throng, who waited to convey his ransomed spirit to glory." The funeral service was in Syriac. Mar Yohannan, his devoted friend and fellow-laborer, in offering the closing prayer, was subdued by his emotion, and tears choked his utterance. The body was laid in its last resting-place, with filial tenderness, by pupils of his school, whom he had led to Christ. His oldest daughter, who had been united with him but a little before in the missionary church, sleeps by his side. And around his grave how precious the tribute recorded by one of his missionary brethren!

"Scarcely a day passes but some of Mr. Stoddard's grateful pupils seek the hallowed spot where they may recall his blessed example, and dwell upon the words of holy cheer which he left to stimulate them in efforts for the salvation of their benighted people. About two weeks since, as I was walking, one Sabbath evening, upon the terraced roof of our dwelling, my attention was arrested by the sound of mingled voices singing, in Syriac, the hymns our departed brother so much loved. Turning to find from whence the music proceeded, I was touched to see some of the pupils of the seminary standing by the grave of their beloved teacher, and surrounding it with sweet songs of praise. I stood for a moment lost in deep emotion. No incident of my life can leave a happier impression upon memory's page than these songs of Zion, sung in a strange land and in a foreign tongue, around the grave of the faithful missionary. Blessed rest, after a life of self-denying toil, to be thus enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people. Who would wish a better monument than those songs

of victory which arose above that lowly grave, in the still evening air of a Persian sky? When racked with fever, Mr. Stoddard often asked for the sweet hymns which he had been accustomed, while a child, to repeat at his mother's knee. And it was a strong tribute to the soothing power of those hymns, that they not only sustained him throughout the sorrows and cares of missionary life, but that, even in the last trying hours, the strains of Watts, Cowper, and Doddridge were commissioned, by a hand Divine, to illuminate the dark valley. And shall we deny that, to our own stricken hearts, these simple hymns, next to the words of our Saviour, have come even from his grave like leaves of healing?" — pp. 413, 414.

Were it the sole result of the missionary enterprise to nurture such Christian heroism, to develop in strength and beauty such truly great souls, to bequeath to a grovelling and Mammon-worshipping generation such glorious examples of a higher life, of disinterested love and generous self-sacrifice, it would be worth all the cost expended upon it, and the precious lives which have been yielded up to its protracted martyrdom. It has demonstrated, as no other portions of modern history have, the joy-giving power of religious faith, — the independence of the soul of man on its surroundings, its sufficiency with the grace of God for its own happiness. But this is not all. The results of this evangelic labor are beyond estimate, except by the Omniscient Mind. Numerically, they may fail to satisfy the commercial spirit of our times. The expenditure divided by the number of converts would, no doubt, show that a convert costs more than a slave, — perhaps not more than it costs to kill a man in battle; all the missionary establishments in the world might be sustained for several years by the money wasted in a single campaign. But it must be remembered that, in a heathen or semi-heathen population, a sunken foundation must be laid before the superstructure can arrest the indifferent eye. There are languages — often a debased *patois*, a mongrel tongue — to be learned without grammar or lexicon, and then to be made available for the uses of instruction. Sometimes an alphabet must be created. Elementary treatises on the language, and vocabularies, must often be written out. Then comes the work of translation, slow, tentative, perplexing. Then there is a hold to be gained upon the

respect and confidence of an unimpressible people. And, after all, the chief reliance must be placed on the training of children and youth, who must be separated from native associations, kept strictly under Christian influence, and formed, by the labor of years, for future usefulness as agents in the evangelization of their race. On many stations the foundation is broadly and durably laid, and the superstructure already appears. On others, it is enough for faith and hope, that devout men and saintly women, adequate to any labor within the scope of human ability, are giving their best strength to the work. Scepticism and cavilling as to its feasibility are unworthy the Christian believer; for it is implied in his belief that Christianity has for its author the Creator and Father of the human spirit, and if so, the one must be adapted to the other. On the Christian theory, the Christianization of the race is a possible achievement. All honor, then, and a fervent God-speed, to those who have consecrated themselves to its realization.

Dr. Thompson's memoir is worthy equally of its subject and of the author's reputation. For a very large portion of the biography, Mr. Stoddard's letters and other writings furnished the materials. These are given, as they should have been, in his own words. The connecting narrative is vivid, eloquent, tender, appreciating. It is the work of a dear friend, and bears the heart-stamp of early and lifelong affection. The entire volume proffers numerous claims to an extended circulation. It is of value, as comprising much of the history and an elaborated view of the present condition of an interesting people, with many important details in topography and physical geography. It takes strong hold upon the reader, as the record of a mind of signal strength and beauty, and of the highest culture. As a Christian biography, it presents the interior life of an eminently pure and true and close follower of the Divine Master. As a memorial of missionary labor, it is adapted to infuse new confidence in the enterprise, to nourish the spirit of Christian philanthropy in the churches, and to raise up those who may fill the places of the departed, and urge on the work for which they lived and died.

ART. X. — *The Works of* WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *the Plays edited from the Folio of* MDCXXIII., *with various Readings from all the Editions and all the Commentators, Notes, Introductory Remarks, a Historical Sketch of the Text, an Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama, a Memoir of the Poet, and an Essay upon his Genius.* By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1858.

DURING the last ten years Shakespearian criticism has excited much general regard. The discovery by Mr. Collier of the old annotated folio of Shakespeare's Plays; his publication, first, of the manuscript notes, and then of a Shakespeare with "the Text, regulated by the recently discovered Folio of 1632," and the fierce controversy which followed, have made what was before a matter of interest to comparatively few almost a popular theme. Among the books which that dispute called forth was "Shakespeare's Scholar," by Richard Grant White of New York, a critical volume of great merits, which at once placed its author in the foremost rank of Shakespearian scholars. We have now the first instalment of a new edition of Shakespeare's entire works by the same hand, an edition of a character so marked as to be in some respects unique.

It will be seen by the title, that the editor has undertaken a great task. If it has been well performed, the edition will, beyond dispute, take rank as the best edition of Shakespeare which has ever been published. Mr. White says that in its preparation he has spent the greater part of the last five years, has collated in that time every letter and point of the text, containing more than one hundred and fifty thousand lines, with those of the first folio and early quartos, and has carefully examined every existing critical edition of Shakespeare's Works. His first canon has been adherence to the text of the authentic folio of 1623, excepting where that is manifestly corrupt or defective. He also claims to have restored many passages which have been heretofore deemed corrupt only through ignorance or carelessness; to have

amended many undeniably corrupt passages which have hitherto baffled critics and editors; to have made a frugal selection from the works of all other commentators; to have adapted his notes to the great mass of intelligent readers; to have carefully preserved the rhythm of the prose, as well as of the verse; and, lastly, to have accredited to every author each emendation, explanation, or illustrative quotation which belongs to him.

The value of an edition of any standard author depends on two conditions. The first in importance, as in order, is the purity of its text; the second, the character of its notes and other subsidiary matter.

Purity of text, for all scholarly purposes, is the first requisite, and any deficiency in this respect will inevitably, in the end, doom an edition, however good otherwise, to disuse. When Reiske published his famous edition of the Attic orators, it was so highly esteemed, that reference was long made, not only to the section of the oration, but also to Reiske's page. Yet now the severity of modern research has attained a text so much purer, that this edition, despite its many merits, finds a place only in libraries of reference, and is no longer included in the private collections of scholars who can afford only a single copy of an author. It is not, however, the student who is most concerned in the preservation of the true text of an author like Shakespeare. No English writer is so generally and constantly kept in the public mind. Where one person reads Milton, five read Shakespeare. When to this general fondness is added scenic attraction, it is no wonder that so many expressions and turns of Shakespeare's thought have stolen into every one's mouth. It is a matter truly curious, to trace the history of the multitude of phrases which claim the great dramatist as their parent. It has lately been made a ground of very severe reprehension in one of our leading newspapers, that a recent School Reader contains a piece for declamation, ostensibly quoted from the play of Coriolanus, but really taken from the stage-play, which, though keeping the same name, has been deformed by alteration and addition. If, then, it is desirable that the boy at school should speak what are truly the words of Shakespeare,

and not interpolated theatrical bombast, it certainly is not less to be wished that the parent at home should also read what is genuine. The great value of critical study in purifying the text of an author is often underrated. In the details it seems trivial. In its results it is indeed fruitful. If any one will examine the history of philology, he will find that, during the last fifty years, philological knowledge has grown more than during eight centuries before. The great characteristic, however, of the last half-century's study, has been the recension of the text of ancient authors, and the growth of philology has been in direct ratio to this concentrated research.

Our second requirement is found in the character of notes and materials for illustration. In reading an author who has been dead two hundred years, a commentary is always needed. Ancient customs are obscure; words have changed their meaning, or become obsolete; historical allusions, obvious to a contemporary, require explanation for men of later date. The utility of commentaries, in short, is so plain, that it would need no defence, if the tendency of theoretical study at the present time were not to dispense with them in the enthusiasm of textual investigation. The danger, till of late, has been of so copious a supply, that the original at last resembles Mathias's Pursuits of Literature, "a body of notes with a poem prefixed," and, like that otherwise excellent poem, bears on each octavo page one line, more or less, of text, and two double columns, in fine type, of commentary.

Two hundred and forty-two years ago, on the 23d of April, 1616, William Shakespeare, a country gentleman, a retired actor and play-writer of some repute, died in his house on the banks of the Avon. In the little parish church of Stratford, where the register records the birth of the child in the simple words, — "1564. April 26. Gulielmus filius Johannis Shakspere," — some kindly hand placed a monument to the memory of the man. On the tablet below the bust is the following inscription, which Collier gives literally: —

"Ivdicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, popvlvs maeret, Olympvs habet.

"Stay, Passenger, why goest thov by so fast?
Read, if thov canst, whom enviovs death hath plast

Within this monvment: Shakspeare, with whome
Quick nature dide: whose name doth deck ys tombe
Far more than cost; sieth all yt he hath writt
Leaves living art bvt page to serve his witt.

"Obiit ano Dot. 1616
Ætatis. 53. die 23 Apr."

To-day this man heads the list of poets. For that monument, however, more lasting than bronze, which perpetuates his name, he merely supplied the materials. He carved the stones, but he left them scattered and disjoined. They were collected, saved from destruction, and put together by the labor of others. The great master, who should have superintended the work, and who alone could finish it as its nobleness required, left it for the world to preserve what he seemed willing to let die. Literary history hardly registers another instance of such disregard of fame. Of those plays which have made his name immortal, he himself never published one. The eighteen which were printed during his lifetime, and the one which appeared soon after his death, in quarto, seem to have been stolen from the mutilated manuscript copies, out of which the players learned their parts. Shakespeare neither revised either of those quartos, nor sanctioned their publication, nor even troubled himself to expose the fraud which had mangled them. Most authors love their literary progeny, and some apparently love them all the more as they are ugly and unworthy. Shakespeare seems to have been almost destitute of such natural affection for his fair offspring. He wrote and acted, and when his labor had earned him a competence, he abandoned pen and stage, went back to his home in Stratford, and quietly passed the remainder of his life, with hardly a thought for the future of his dramas. While he bestowed some care upon his poems, so little did he apparently regard his reputation as a dramatist, that he suffered to be issued, during his lifetime, and in his name, six plays so obviously forgeries that Rowe alone of his editors acknowledges their genuineness. When he died, he made no provision for preserving his works, or for repudiating the dramas which had sought shelter under his name.

Seven years after his death the love of two old friends and

fellow-actors gathered together the scattered dramas, and published the result of their efforts in the folio of 1623, the famous First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays. This furnishes for about half the whole number of plays literally the most ancient text. Any sensible man, moreover, after learning the history of the early quartos, cannot fail to see that for the remaining plays also it affords, beyond the possibility of question, the most authentic text.

"It had bene a thinge, we confesse," write the editors in their address to the readers, "worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected and publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diurse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers."

This First Folio must not be confounded with the other folio editions. The works of Shakespeare have been published in folio four times. The Second edition in this form, issued in 1632, is scarcely more than a reprint of the First, with additional errors in typographical execution. The Third was published in 1664, being of the same character, but including Pericles and the six spurious plays. It is now very rare, and Malone explains this fact by saying that, since it was printed late in 1664, most of the copies were probably destroyed in the great fire of London, which occurred in 1666. The Fourth and last Folio appeared in 1685, and closely resembles the Third. The Second is of some slight value in correcting a few typographical errors in the First Folio. The Third and Fourth have not the least authority in determining the text. The First Folio, therefore, is the chief source whence a text obviously and beyond ques-

tion authentic can be derived. This fact might seem to establish a uniform and genuine reading, which could not be disputed. To such a result, however, there is one serious obstacle, — the great carelessness with which this inestimable volume was printed. "Unfortunately," says Mr. White, "this precious folio is one of the worst printed books that ever issued from the press. It is filled with the grossest possible errors in orthography, punctuation, and arrangement." Words are transformed. Lines are transposed. Capitals and full-points often break the connection of a sentence. Verse is given as prose; prose, as verse. Speeches which belong to one of the characters are allotted to another. In short, every variety of error abounds in this volume, else the prime source of a correct text.

Such is the character of the First Folio, the oldest confessedly genuine authority in determining the text of the Plays. About ten years ago, however, a rival authority was presented, for which were put forth claims so extraordinary, so exorbitant, and so wholly exaggerated, that in the first storm of opposition its real merits were overlooked. On more mature deliberation, the most judicious friends of the new claimant now agree very nearly with the views of some who most stoutly resisted the first unreasonable demands. This new candidate was the annotated copy of the folio of 1632, commonly known as Mr. Collier's Folio, the history of which was related, and its merits discussed, in a former number of this journal.*

While, on the one hand, Mr. Collier's folio has no absolute authority in determining Shakespeare's text, it possesses very great value as a source of conjectural emendation. The nature of the first folio makes almost any body of emendations valuable, nearly in the ratio of its size. Twenty thousand, more or less, Mr. Collier computes to be contained in his book. Of this number, one hundred and seventeen are admitted to be very good solutions of very blind passages, — solutions for which any editor must be grateful. Mr. White justly says, in his Advertisement, that the importance of this

* North American Review for April, 1854.

very valuable, though unauthoritative volume, has been much underrated by the English Shakespearian scholars; that the old corrector certainly possessed the inestimable advantage of doing his work within about fifty years after Shakespeare's death, — an advantage so immeasurably great, that, instead of interpreting the agreement of many of his conjectures with those of later editors as a proof of his authority, it is rather a subject of wonder that the combined efforts of other commentators should have elucidated so many passages which baffled him.

The story and criticism of Mr. Collier's Folio of 1632 mark an era in the history of Shakespeare's text. The controversy is dying out. Mr. Collier, in his latest work, gives to his folio a place not very much higher than it deserves, and the contest seems at an end, inasmuch as he is now desirous that the annotations should pass for their real worth only, not at their original valuation as a regulator of Shakespeare's text. But by this means a spirit of investigation and interest was aroused, to which perhaps in no small degree is due the present new and excellent edition.

The chief authority and basis of a genuine text must certainly be acknowledged to be the folio of 1623. From this Mr. White has prepared his text with the utmost care, examining the readings of every editor, and the notes of every commentator, adopting them when admissible, and recording all that are worthy of preservation. No mere opinion, or preference, seemed to him a sufficient reason for departing from that text which alone bears the stamp of authenticity. Evident corruption of this, and the highly probable restoration of what accident had destroyed, or the stage copy omitted, are the only reasons which he regarded as authorizing a deviation from it. All readings and quotations, with very rare exceptions, are taken from the originals. Every restoration, emendation, and quotation has been accredited to its author. The reader, therefore, in every passage finds in chronological order as much of its history as is valuable. This last feature is peculiar to this edition. While no "superstitious reverence for the First Folio" prevented the editor from making necessary corrections, even the slightest deviation from the text adopted

as the standard is noted, so that the reader has practically the original text precisely as it stands in the First Folio, and may, if he chooses, try his own skill in emendation. Without conforming to the unsettled orthography of that age, the editor says that he has attempted to present Shakespeare's words with even syllabic faithfulness to his usage. Great attention also has been paid to punctuation, and the editor believes that this has now been done for the first time, excepting in regard to some specially controverted passages. His faithfulness in this most important point has certainly removed a great many old stumbling-blocks.

From what we have said, it will appear that the first great claim of this edition on the public regard is its purity of text. For more than five years Mr. White has been engaged almost exclusively in this work. He has subjected the text of Shakespeare to as severe a revision as German editors have given to Greek and Latin classics. Numerous errors, slight in themselves, — such as taking the old long *s* for *f*, or the omission or misplacement of a point, — yet most mischievous in their results, have been corrected. A closer study of the original has found many passages, which have heretofore been esteemed corrupt, and loaded therefore with comments, to be perfectly simple and intelligible. How much this purification was needed may be seen in the Advertisement of Johnson and Steevens, who in 1793 boldly declared that there was no text of Shakespeare. "The vitiations of a careless theatre were seconded by as ignorant a press." They consequently amended as they chose, and discarded, whenever they pleased, the text which had "stagnated at last in the muddy reservoir of the first folio." Whether such editions deserve to be honored by the name of Shakespeare's Works may well be questioned.

As to explanatory matter, common sense is the characteristic of this edition, both in plan and execution. The first source of interpretation for a doubtful passage is to be found in the context, and the elucidation may be found there far oftener than is commonly thought. As the fundamental principle which governs the formation of the text is adherence to the reading of the folio of 1623, so the first rule by which

Mr. White seems to be consistently and uniformly guided in preparing his notes and explanations is to make Shakespeare interpret himself. Out of the passage, its connection, and its context, he often draws so plain an interpretation that study only confirms its correctness. As a single example, we may take the much burdened passage, in "Measure for Measure," where the Duke, when he makes Angelo deputy during his absence, in his address says: —

> "But I do bend my speech
> To one that can my part in him advertise:
> Hold therefore, Angelo,
> In our remove, be thou at full ourself."

The third line is plainly imperfect. Various explanations have been given. Johnson thinks it equivalent to "*continue* to be Angelo." Others think that the Duke gives him then a written commission. In short, absurdity has reached what in anything but Shakespearian criticism would be deemed the very fulness of possible development. Mr. White, however, says: —

"The sense which those words conveyed is shown by the context; but by the Duke's remark to Friar Thomas, when, in the next Scene but one, he speaks of the very act performed in this, we may be said to learn what they actually were, from Shakespeare himself. The Duke says: —

> "I have delivered to Lord Angelo
> (A man of stricture and firm abstinence)
> My absolute *power and place* here in Vienna."

He therefore supplies the ellipsis thus: —

> "Hold therefore, Angelo [our place and power]";

and makes Shakespeare himself furnish the needful aid in a manner so natural, that it is wonderful that no one has anticipated this new and very elegant emendation.

This passage is only a type of many, which we had hoped to introduce. The four volumes of the Comedies, which make up the first instalment of the plays, are full of similar striking interpretations, whose very simplicity and neatness most convincingly prove their merit.

Mr. White seems to have been singularly fortunate in the

preparation for this work which he received in childhood. He tells us, in Shakespeare's Scholar, that no annotated edition of Shakespeare was in his father's house, and that he read the plays in which he so delighted from a copy of Mr. Singer's small Chiswick edition, in one volume. Not until he chanced upon an annotated copy in a classmate's room, during his Freshman year, did he learn the existence of those difficulties which unconsciously, with the freshness of a new mind, and by simple study of the text, he had already overcome in part, and from which he had unawares learned how to grapple with such obstacles. He was thus saved from receiving, out of mere reverence for the name of their authors, those inanities which have been fastened upon the great poet's works for hardly any other reason. He had learned to look for Shakespeare's meaning in the words of Shakespeare, not in the notes of Johnson, Pope, or Malone.

The Introductions to the Plays are excellent. The same quickness which amends the text of "Measure for Measure" so neatly, finds in the play a passage which conclusively settles the time in which the scene is laid. The explanation is so clear, that it is strange that the English scholars have overlooked it. These Introductions contain, not only the last word which has been uttered and the last fact discovered about their subject, but contain much that is wholly new, and the result of Mr. White's own thought.

ART. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Time. With Other Papers.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. pp. 461.

THIS volume consists of articles which have already appeared, with one or two exceptions, in the pages of Fraser's Magazine and the North British Review. They are upon various subjects, and form a valuable collection, embodying much general information, and marked with all the merits of style familiar to the readers of Mr. Kingsley's

works. As a critic, he is genial and appreciative in his praise, clear and decided in his disapprobation. He makes his readers feel that he has looked deeply into the subject he discusses, and, as a necessary consequence, we are inclined to give faith to his conclusions. He touches upon the grounds of all true criticism, as on those of all true authorship, when he says, in the last article of the present series: "If a man has no affection for the characters of whom he reads, he will never understand them; if he has no respect for his subject, he will never take the trouble to exhaust it." Mr. Kingsley's articles give evidence that they have not been hastily or carelessly prepared, and when he does not rise into the chastened enthusiasm with which he grows eloquent over a subject or a person near his heart, he at least offers us a calm and thorough *résumé* of his authorities and his reasonings.

The article on Raleigh is an admirably drawn summary of the prominent events in Sir Walter's life, with their effect upon his character, through which Kingsley's own reverent and kindly nature is continually revealing itself. His sympathy with the noble heart of which he writes glows on every page.

With regard to Tennyson, he kindles into a warmth of enthusiasm which few readers will consider disproportionate to his subject, and shows us the pleasant spectacle of the thorough and hearty admiration of one man of genius for another. We see that it is not only delightful to the critic himself to have for his subject an author whom he ardently admires, but that it is equally satisfactory to the reader to peruse an article thus written.

The article on "North Devon" commences with a curt and somewhat irate notice of "Exmoor, or the Footsteps of St. Hubert in the West"; and after a page or two of pungent indignation at the author and his performance, Mr. Kingsley himself takes up the office of guide, and with his and our old friend, Claude Mellot, the artist, shows us the beauties of North Devon in a series of chapters written with all his peculiar freshness of description and loving interest in the details of picturesque rural scenery.

"Alexandria and her Schools" embraces four lectures delivered by the author some time since. They set before us clearly and fully his research and study on subjects which are shadowed forth to us in "Hypatia," a work remarkable not only for its graphic power and its dramatic movement, but for the proof it gave of its author's complete conversance with the deeper and more abstruse connections of the theme and the era he had chosen.

As a whole, the volume before us exhibits the depth and earnestness of the author's student-nature, as well as the versatility and flexibility of

his intellectual power and the freshness and vigor of his perceptions. We are glad to see this collection thus arranged, and placed before the American public.

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2. — *Legends and Lyrics. A Book of Verses.* By ADELAIDE ANNE PROCTER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. pp. 264.

OF the poems in this little volume, many had been previously published in the English magazines. Their author, the daughter of Barry Cornwall, inherits much of the poetical talent of her father, and her productions are marked with the same inequality perceptible in his. Many of her pieces, especially the shorter and more impulsive, are full of pathos and sweetness, original in idea and graceful in execution; and linger in the memory long after we have turned over the leaf. Others are dull, and fail to invite a second perusal. This is a fault, however, almost inevitable in a studied collection of minor poems, since many are doubtless allowed place for the purpose of swelling the volume to the requisite size, and perhaps stand even lower in the estimation of the author than in that of the reader. The number of Miss Procter's poems, however, which attain to a positive degree of merit, is quite large enough to give to her book a pleasant tone, and to render it an agreeable addition to the stock of modern poetry.

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3. — *A Woman's Thoughts about Women.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Rudd and Carleton. 1858.

THESE "Thoughts" are thrown together in quite an attractive form, and are replete with good sense and calm reflection. Without saying anything marvellously original, — an achievement, by the way, almost impossible upon this much-bewritten subject, — the author has arranged a series of chapters which amply repay perusal, and which place before the reader in tangible and debatable propositions many of the ideas which have, hitherto, probably only floated across his mind at intervals. Somewhat conservative in tone, she abjures all sympathy with the ultra advocates of woman's rights, while at the same time, as in the chapter entitled "Lost Women," and in allusions scattered throughout the volume, she offers several sensible and practical suggestions to those who wish to open a wider sphere of action and a more generous charity to the poorer and more neglected portion of the sex. The genial sympathy with humanity which pervades the other works of the author is equally apparent in this healthful and kindly volume, and a simple

diction, and a delicate handling of each topic as it arises, add their charm to the more solid interest which the subject itself awakens at the present time.

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4. — *Lectures of* LOLA MONTEZ (COUNTESS OF LANDSFELD). *Including her Autobiography.* New York: Rudd and Carleton. 1858. pp. 292.

WE naturally look for something sparkling and out of the common course, when we meet with anything emanating from a source like that which gave birth to the present Lectures. And we are not altogether disappointed; for, after making allowance for some anomalies of style and some unnecessary diffuseness, we find many piquant and entertaining paragraphs, enclosing very sensible reflections and shrewd observations. Most of them are sharply pointed to the reader's mind, by the palpable relation which exists between them and the life which has illustrated them, as, for instance, when the lecturer informs us that "a runaway match, like a runaway horse, generally ends in a smash-up." Several anecdotes are related with spirit, and the range of subjects touched upon with complete *sang-froid* manifests nearly as much versatility as vanity in this certainly extraordinary woman. She jumps from politics to cosmetics, and from biography to art, with equal ease, apparently enjoying her own erratic performance in the highest degree. In regard to the amount of faith to be placed in the autobiographic portion of the work, each reader is, of course, at liberty to follow his previous bias on the subject.

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5. — *A Journey Due North, being Notes of a Residence in Russia.* By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1858. pp. 459.

THE abundance of books of travel which issue from the press is equalled by the good-natured readiness with which, for the most part, they are welcomed by the public. If a traveller penetrates a step into a strange country, he wins readers by the simple announcement of his having done so; if he treads only upon familiar ground, he has but to suggest that he has looked with different eyes upon external objects, or, better still, to assert that he has had extraordinary facilities for observing interior movements, and hundreds are eager to know more of countries of which they already know so much. A writer who has but to set down those things which he has seen and heard, has a com-

paratively easy task in the way of book-making, when he undertakes to supply his publisher with a given number of pages; for, with a fair share of discrimination in making his selection of experiences and tableaux, he may go on swimming in shallow water to the end, and leave his readers to supply whatever reflections they please. None the less for all this is the writing of a book of travels a matter of conscientious or of non-conscientious performance; and none the less does it behoove the writer to do with care and honesty the work which is set before him. A dashing, rattling, careless account of miscellaneous sights, though it may afford amusement, can never be mistaken for a thoughtful, thorough, and trustworthy statement of matters which deserve more than a passing glance.

The "Journey Due North," which entitles itself "Notes of a *Residence* in Russia," would seem to promise something more than a rambling discourse upon all sorts of subjects, in which Russia forms merely a text from which to digress at random. Mr. Sala has filled his pages with a most wonderful mixture of slang phrases and foreign terms, often relieved, it is true, by sensible observations, and occasionally by earnest thought. He ransacks half a dozen languages to find odd words; he Anglicizes French, and Frenchifies English, and Germanizes both; and the result is a compound which even Young America could hardly classify, and before which a foreigner must stand helpless and ignorant, though he have a score of dictionaries at his elbow. With the intention, no doubt, of presenting a graphic picture of those things which attracted the author's attention, he piles on foreign and domestic and homespun adjectives, until the substantive to which they belong is overwhelmed by their weight, and has to be fished up from among them like a jewel fallen into muddy waters. This is the more to be regretted, as there are frequent indications of power on the part of the writer, which struggle in vain against his desperate mannerisms. The careless and almost indelicate tone of many of his comments is also contradicted by the homage which, in others, he pays to really noble sentiments.

This volume will have, as in some aspects it deserves, many readers, and, being only an intensification of a certain prevalent style, will not lack admirers for what we cannot but deem positive blemishes. For the amount of information it contains it has no little value, and we trust that, if the writer carries out the intention he hints at, of another "Journey Due North," he will discard the rollicking verbiage of his present volume, and continue only his habit of keen observation and close scrutiny. Everything pertaining to the country he describes is now, more than ever before, of interest to the world. There is a fascination about its mingled splendor and misery, its power and its weak-

ness, its surface of peace and its strong under-current of unrest. Mr. Sala's description of the Northern capital may almost answer for the whole nation: —

"St. Petersburg has been robbed from the river. Its palaces float rather than stand. The Neva, like a haughty courtesan, bears the splendid sham upon her breast like a scarlet letter, or the costly gift of a lover she hates. She revolted in eighteen hundred and twenty-four, she revolted in thirty-nine, she revolted in forty-two, and tried to wash the splendid stigma away in floods of passionate tears. She will cast it away from her some day, utterly and for ever. The city is an untenable position now, like Naples. It must go some day by the board. Isaac's Church and the Winter Palace, Peter the Great's hut and Alexander's monolith, will be no more heard of, and will return to the Mud, their father, and to the Ooze, their mother." — p. 158.

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6. — *A History of England during the Reign of George the Third.* By William Massey, M. P. Vols. I. and II. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1855 – 58. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 552, 472.

Within the last fifteen or twenty years, much light has been thrown upon the obscure points of English history; but in respect to no period has the new information been more copious or more instructive than it has been in regard to the reign of George III. The publication of the Cavendish Debates, the Grenville Papers, the Rockingham Papers, the Correspondence of Lord Chatham, Burke, and Fox, and other trustworthy documents, all of which have been printed for the first time within a comparatively brief period, enables the careful student to acquire a more thorough and exact knowledge of the secret history of that memorable reign, than was possessed by most of the conspicuous personages in it. Yet it may be doubted whether the time has come for a full and impartial judgment of the men and measures which have given it celebrity in English annals. We still have much to learn from unpublished documents before we can feel perfectly sure of our ground. In the preparation of the volumes before us, Mr. Massey has made judicious use of the materials which had appeared in print when he wrote; but we are not aware that he has had access to any manuscripts unknown to previous writers, and in only two or three instances does he refer to manuscript authorities. His volumes are written with moderate ability, in an unambitious style, and with an evident wish to deal fairly with all parties. In this endeavor he has generally been successful; and there are not many instances in which it can be justly said that his judgment has been warped by his prejudices. His views, however, do not always commend themselves to our favor; and there

are several points on which we should be glad to join issue with him if we were reviewing his volumes.

His first volume opens with a preliminary chapter, tracing in outline the history of the reign of George II., from the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, and covering about fifty pages. The remainder of the two volumes now published comprises the first two decades of the reign of George III., closing with the No-Popery riots of 1780. Throughout the whole of this first part of his work Lord Chatham is the most conspicuous figure on Mr. Massey's canvas, and he never neglects an opportunity of testifying his admiration for that great man. Of Burke he says but little, evidently esteeming him far below Lord Chatham, — an order of precedence which most readers would be inclined to reverse. Referring to Burke's oratory, he says: —

"The eloquence of Burke, which will be studied with delight as long as the language endures, was barely tolerated by a listless and impatient assembly. Though a master of composition, and accomplished in all the arts of rhetoric, he was wholly wanting in the more essential qualifications of an orator. With the aspect and manner of a pedagogue, a monotonous voice and a provincial brogue, his singular ignorance of tact and taste gave perpetual offence to the most fastidious audience in the world." — Vol. II. p. 205.

Again, at a later period, when speaking of that masterly effort of Burke, the speech on Conciliation with America, he gives a comparative estimate of Burke, Fox, and Chatham: —

"Burke introduced his scheme with one of those philosophical and eloquent dissertations which are read with admiration, but were listened to with apathy. Fox denounced the government in declamations which carried away the audience, but which will not bear perusal. Chatham alone recommended the policy of a statesman, in a speech which combined the better part of oratory with an elevation and force of style far surpassing the great contemporaries of his youth or later age." — Vol. II. p. 230.

For the Rockingham connection he exhibits little regard, and he freely criticises and condemns their policy. His estimate of Junius is considerably lower than the common judgment, and he even pronounces the famous epistles which pass under that name "inflated, exaggerated, and tiresome." Whatever may be thought of the first two epithets, it must be admitted that the last is singularly infelicitous. Into the vexed question of their authorship Mr. Massey does not enter at large, though he intimates an opinion that they were not written by Sir Philip Francis, but without propounding any new theory. Of Dr. Franklin he speaks with the harshness and injustice too common with recent English writers. His estimate of George III. is substantially the same with that now entertained by all intelligent and unbiassed persons. In other respects his characters of the prominent actors in this portion of the Georgian era present nothing especially deserving of notice.

His statements are generally exact, but it is not always easy to determine what is his own judgment respecting particular measures or general lines of policy; and a certain vagueness of language not unfrequently leaves us in doubt which side of a disputed question he has finally adopted. His narrative is often interrupted by digressions which are not always pertinent to the subject under discussion, and by collateral references to other portions of English history. The forgotten scandals and immoralities of that coarse age seem to be especially attractive to him, and he reverts to the squabbles of the royal family, and to the disgusting profligacy of the nobility and upper classes, with a needless frequency. In the minor facts of his narrative we notice some mistakes, which indicate carelessness on the part of the author or the proof-reader. Thus we are told that "Peyton Randolph, Quincey, Jefferson, and others, whose names were soon to become famous, are found among the fifty-six members of the first Congress." It is perhaps needless to say that this body did not consist of fifty-six members, that Quincy, as the name should have been spelled, was never a member of Congress, and that Jefferson was not chosen until 1775, when he succeeded Randolph. By a still more unaccountable blunder, the skirmish at Lexington, the battle of Bunker Hill, and several other memorable occurrences of 1775, are narrated under date of 1774. Ticonderoga is twice spelled Ticonderago; Charles River is called the St. Charles; and there are other mistakes of a similar character which need not detain us.

Following the example of Lord Macaulay, Mr. Massey has devoted an entire chapter, of about a hundred pages, to the social condition of England at the commencement of the reign of George III. In this chapter he has collected much curious information, but little if any of it is positively new, and in several instances he has borrowed largely from his great model. This sketch is to us disfigured by that vein of coarseness to which we have alluded.

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7. — *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion.* By JOHN LANGTON SANFORD, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1858. 8vo. pp. 632.

THE history of this volume, as related in the Preface, is somewhat peculiar, and is well suited to excite an interest in the book. Being unable to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in regard to the facts on which historians have based their various estimates of Cromwell's character, Mr. Sanford determined, more than fifteen years ago, to make as complete a collection as possible of Cromwell's letters, with a view to

a further investigation of the subject. He accordingly instituted diligent search for them in print and among the manuscripts in the British Museum; and at the end of two years he had collected "about three hundred letters, published and unpublished, and had read through and re-punctuated into some new sense most of the Protector's printed speeches." In the mean time Mr. Carlyle had prosecuted a similar course of investigation, the results of which were given to the public in 1845, in "The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell." A portion of Mr. Sanford's labors was thus anticipated; and upon the publication of the second edition of that work, he very courteously communicated to Mr. Carlyle several unpublished letters from his own collection. Subsequently he resumed his researches, and from the unpublished Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the Tanner MSS., and other sources, he obtained much new and valuable material, which he embodied in a Life of Oliver Cromwell. This work was offered to the London publishers in 1850, and declined. Five years later Mr. Sanford "made another and equally unsuccessful attempt to bring it before the public, in a reduced and modified form." Fortunately, however, upon the publication of John Forster's Biographical and Historical Essays, in the early part of 1858, he determined to appeal from the publishers to the reading public. His labors had been twice anticipated, — for the most valuable part of Mr. Forster's volumes is drawn almost entirely from the Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes; and in order to secure any credit for his own researches, it was desirable that some portion at least of their results should be published without further delay. This has been done in the volume before us.

Mr. Sanford is not an easy or an agreeable writer, and in several respects his work is open to unfavorable criticism. Its arrangement is defective; and its usefulness is much diminished by the lack of an analytical table of contents and an index. But it is evidently based upon a comprehensive study of the subject, and comprises much new and important information, particularly in regard to the proceedings upon the bill of attainder against Strafford, and in regard to the attempted seizure of the five members. Upon several other points it also throws added light, and its narrative portions are uniformly full and minute. It is divided into ten chapters, of which the first two are merely preliminary, and might have been omitted. The first, which covers about sixty pages, is devoted to a general and rather unsatisfactory discussion of the foreign and domestic policy of the later Tudors, and of the first two Stuarts; the second treats of Puritanism, Social and Religious, as it was exhibited at different periods in its history. The next two chapters describe, with much and unnecessary detail, the Antecedents and First

Years of King Charles, and the Early Life of Oliver Cromwell; the fifth contains a very full and carefully prepared list of the members of the Long Parliament; and the last five trace the course of events from the first meeting of that memorable body to the close of the year 1645. It is in this latter part of the volume that Mr. Sanford has embodied most of his new material, and has given the most convincing proof of the thoroughness of his researches.

In dealing with the numerous controverted subjects which engage his attention, Mr. Sanford's sympathies are always on the side of the popular leaders; and he is as ardent an admirer of Cromwell as Carlyle is. Indeed, in his hearty approval of the measures of the Long Parliament he goes much farther than most of the recent English historians; and in two or three instances he zealously defends the course pursued by Pym and his associates, against the strictures of Mr. Hallam, one of the most candid and impartial of historians. But the real merit of his volume is not so much in its controversial ability, as in the clearness of its narrative and in the freshness of much of the material introduced in support of its statements. In both these respects it is a valuable contribution to historical literature, and Mr. Sanford's labors are entitled to grateful acknowledgment.

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8. — *A Yacht Voyage. — Letters from High Latitudes; being Some Account of a Voyage in the Schooner Yacht "Foam," 85 O. M., to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen, in* 1856. By Lord Dufferin. [From the Fourth London Edition.] Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 406.

Lord Dufferin's Letters owe their well-deserved popularity, partly to the comparative freshness of the theme, and partly to the lively and agreeable manner in which it is treated. Sailing from the river Clyde early in June, 1856, his Lordship, who is a young Irish peer of extensive reading and cultivated tastes, successively visited Iceland, the still more remote islands of Jan Mayen and Spitzbergen, and the coasts of Norway and Denmark, returning home early in the autumn of the same year. Within this brief period he sailed nearly six thousand miles, and saw many places which are seldom visited by travellers. These he has described in a series of letters to his mother, written in a very spirited and graphic style, and interspersed with some curious and pleasant bits of Northern lore, and some excellent versions of the Northern sagas. His social position and the personal popularity of one of his fellow-voyagers, a young Icelander who had been studying

law in Copenhagen, gave him ready access to the best society in Iceland; and his picturesque descriptions of Icelandic manners and customs will be read with especial interest. Among the most vivid of these is the account of a dinner at the Government House in Reykjavik, with his own after-dinner speech in Latin. His descriptions of scenery are equally noticeable for their freshness of coloring and sharpness of outline; and there is no more attractive passage in the volume than the account of his visit to the Geysers. We have also a charming little sketch of an English home in Norway, and several other descriptions of domestic life full of simple beauty, besides several poetical pieces of his own composition, which are not without merit. The best of these last, we think, is the short poem at the close of the volume, addressed "To the Figure-Head of the Foam." The Appendix contains the Thermometrical Observations taken during the voyage. The English edition, which has been considerably read in this country, is illustrated by several well-executed engravings on wood. They are omitted in the American reprint, which, in other respects, is fully equal to the English copy.

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9. — *François de Médicis. Roman Historique.* Par ALFRED DES ESSARTS. Paris: Hachette. 1858. 16mo. pp. 343.

THE heroine of this interesting historical novel is the famous Bianca Capello; but we have to complain that M. des Essarts has perverted the facts of her story in his endeavor to make her a paragon of beauty and virtue. Her true story is not written in this romance. Sismondi and Artaud de Montor relate it in quite another way. According to them, Bianca was as ambitious, cunning, and unscrupulous as she was beautiful. She was the mistress of Francis of Florence long before she became his wife, and even during the lifetime of his duchess. Though her husband connived at her intrigue, it was found both for her and her princely lover much more convenient to have him out of the way; and his assassination was accomplished by other means than those which M. des Essarts invents. The attempt to foist upon the Grand Duke a supposititious child, which, more than anything else, has given notoriety to Bianca's name, is wholly passed over in this novel. Indeed, the novel is historical only so far as a few facts are made the basis of invented motives and imaginary characters. Historically, this novel of "François de Médicis" is even a more gross distortion of fact than the "Beatrice Cenci" of Guerrazzi. But as a work of art, it is incomparably superior to that disgusting production. The pictures of

life in Florence in the sixteenth century are finely drawn and colored, and we feel as we read all the charm of that fascinating region and that brilliant society. The courtiers, wits, diplomats, French, Spanish, Venetian, Roman, all pass before us, and glimpses of the church interiors vary the pageant of luxurious palace life. As the scenes lie in Italy, we are of course treated to plots and murders; but there is none of that nauseous detail of villany which overloads the pages of Signor Guerrazzi. Neither the love nor the crime is overdone, as both would have been had the whole truth been told about the fair Venetian runaway.

M. des Essarts's epigrams have not the point of those of Houssaye or Voltaire, yet there are several ingenious specimens in that kind in his novel. Perhaps the best thing in it is the picture of Montaigne at the court of Francis. The character of Francis is ably, and, on the whole, fairly drawn. A shade deeper of tyranny and profligacy would come nearer to the mark.

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10. — *Le Cardinal de Bérulle. Sa Vie, ses Écrits, son Temps.* Par M. Nourrisson, Professeur de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont. Paris: Didier. 1856. 12mo. pp. 263.

The Cardinal de Bérulle was in many respects a remarkable man, and many dignitaries of the Church, whose services to the ecclesiastical order and to theology have been far inferior to his, have been honored by elaborate biographies. We cannot regard M. Nourrisson's attempt to rescue his hero from undeserved neglect as very successful. He has not the skill or the learning to make out a good case for the Cardinal, and his parallel between Bérulle and Richelieu is as feeble as it is preposterous. As a statesman, Bérulle was unlucky, not to say incapable. His negotiations with Rome, his interposition in the affair of Henrietta of England, and his manœuvres at the French court, were alike failures. We had not expected to see a defence of Bérulle the politician.

But we had looked to find in this volume a full and satisfactory history of the first days of the "Oratoire" in France, of which Bérulle was the founder. This institution, to which the Carmelite foundations in France were only the preface, was really the monument of the famous Clermont scholar. The walls of that old Gothic chapel, which break with their quaint buttresses the even arcades of the new Rue de Rivoli, are a better testimony to the zeal and learning of the reformer of French monasticism than any record of his transactions in the state. Of this hopeful religious achievement, M. Nourrisson's account is sadly inade-

quate. He tells just enough to let us see how much more there is to tell, and how much greater such a theme would become in the hands of that eloquent Protestant and liberal divine who is, in the Chapel of the Oratoire, Bérulle's greatest successor. The life of the Cardinal should have been written by one of the Coquerels.

M. Nourrisson tells us that the Fathers of the Oratoire have five several times made the attempt to get their founder into the company of the Saints, but always without success. They were able, doubtless, to present some substantial reasons. Bérulle hated heresy with exemplary devotion, spoke of it as the chief and crowning sin, advised the suppression of Protestantism, especially in the siege of Rochelle, and, except in one or two cases, made full proof of his Catholic faith. He was orthodox, too, in regard to the Copernican heresy, believing that the notion of Galileo, that the earth moved round the sun, had only the doubtful merit of a spiritual symbol. On this theory, he says, the unchanging and luminous sun may stand for Christ, while the changing earth is a sign of sinful man. His love of the monastic state, also, if not so ascetic as that of the mendicant orders, was not less sincere. He would have no man become a monk except from a holy call to that estate. If he could not work miracles, he had an unbounded belief in them, and confirmed the story of the carriage which, in passing the bridge of Biscay, with its precious freight of Carmelite sisters, was preserved from destruction by invisible spiritual hands, that held it balanced in the air. Such claims as these has Bérulle upon the gratitude of the Vatican. But the Vatican is not grateful; it has allowed the fame of its honest defender to die away, and has spurned the requests of that noble society which Bossuet eulogized so grandly, and even Voltaire could praise.

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11. — *L'Égypte Contemporaine* 1840 – 1857. *De Mehemet Ali à Said Pacha.* Par M. PAUL MERRUAU, précédée d'une Lettre de M. FERD. DE LESSEPS. Paris: Didier. 1858. 8vo. pp. 390.

M. MERRUAU'S work, on Egypt as it is, is not a record of travel, but a precise, digested, statistical treatise on the progress of that country within the last score of years, and on its present condition, political, military, agricultural, commercial, and financial. The Introduction gives a rapid historical survey of Egypt, from the remotest time down to the last days of Mehemet Ali, adopting in regard to the ancient dynasties a somewhat doubtful chronology. The First Book, in six chapters, treats successively of the administrative organization, the Pachas, Sheiks, and Judges, giving a discriminating estimate of the character

of the present ruler, Mohammed Said; of the system of military service and conscription; of the tenure of land and property; of the method of taxation, its advantages and its annoyances; of free foreign trade, on the Red Sea and the Mediteranean; of the government schools, primary and secondary, military and medical, and of the mission school at Paris. The Second Book, in four chapters, treats of the railway from Alexandria to Suez; the Mahmoudieh Canal; the steam towboats on the Nile; and steam transportation on the Red Sea, with the proposed canal across the isthmus. The Third Book treats of the reforms which have been brought about in the interior, especially in the region of Soudan. The whole work is accurate, candid, and entirely trustworthy. We have noticed but one error in fact, and that very trifling. Abbas Pacha was not, as M. Merruau says, the son of *Ibrahim*, but the son of an older brother of Ibrahim.

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12. — *The Sabbath Hymn-Book: for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord.* New York: Mason Brothers. 1858. 12mo. pp. 941.

We confess a general repugnance toward a new hymn-book. The last twenty years have seen many times that number of new hymn-books, pleading in sensitive importunity for a place in the public favor. All religious denominations seem to have felt the impulse to "be fruitful and multiply," as to this class of books. Talent of rare excellence, culture and skill of the highest order, and preparations of laborious care, with eminent indorsements, have distinguished this era and kind of compilation, and have confused the public choice by the varied excellences of the differing collections. We comfort ourselves with the belief that the hymn-book *furor* must be about spent, and we therefore turn the more friendly eye toward this last manual.

The book before us — its compilers severally eminent for the gifts needed in such a work, one a professor of theology, and conversant with the sentiments fit to be sung, another a professor of sacred rhetoric, on whose æsthetic judgment full reliance might be placed, and the third a professor of music, prepared to meet all the musical necessities of the work — has choice advantages for winning a wide and permanent acceptance. It claims to represent years of studious preparation, and the careful consideration of all the details of such a work. A patient and diligent inquiry has evidently been made, through all the Christian centuries, for the religious lyrics, — first sung, some of them, in times of stinging persecution, others in days of victory; some in the silent cell of the monastery, others amid the tramp of armies and

the din of battle. The vast store of material thus found gave to the editors the advantage of a calm, comprehensive judgment in selection. Hymns of a given period, or of marked peculiarities, could not easily gain an undue rank; for among the stores gathered by their large research, pieces of corresponding value, though in varying forms, would prevent an excessive draft on any one style or period. We have thus an admirably adjusted variety, not only of specific sentiment, but of the phases of poetic genius in Christendom. We esteem this to be a substantial excellence in a work which is so largely to educate the mind and heart of the Christian community.

We think this book less damaged by deference to what are commonly called favorite hymns, than some others. The editors had courage enough generally to replace an inferior favorite by a superior composition of the same class, thus inviting the public mind to a higher line of taste. We miss, however, a few of the royal old lyrics, which send their time-softened strains down to us in cadences touched with such experiences and associations as can never be dislodged. A few flat and senseless stanzas lurk amid the profuse selections, in testimony that Homer still nods.

For the endless tinkering that has left its traces in a few of the hymns, we have no complacency. It is wrong, and in nearly every case as hurtful as it is wrong. We wish that no work of the kind had been done or retained in this compilation.

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13. — *Annals of the American Pulpit, or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations, from the early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-five. With Historical Introductions.* By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Vol. V. *Episcopalian.* New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1859. 8vo. pp. 822.

THIS may not unaptly be regarded as the test volume of Dr. Sprague's great enterprise. Previously he had appeared as the historiographer of the denominations to which successively he had been attached as a member and a minister. But in entering upon a department of the Church with which he has borne no relations other than those of Christian friendship, he shows no decline, as to intimate knowledge, tender appreciation, impartial justice, or enthusiastic admiration of what deserves to be praised and loved. No member of the Episcopal Church could have done the work so well; for none could have so entirely divested himself of preferences for one or the other wing, or beheld with

so equal a regard the excellent traits and faithful services of those who had maintained opposite opinions as to matters in controversy. This volume embraces some of the best subjects for religious biography that our country has afforded. There is a very ably condensed memoir of Whitefield. Bishop Berkeley has his place in the catalogue, and is the subject of an admirably well written, though brief sketch. The early missionaries of the Society for Propagating the Gospel are worthily commemorated, and the adventures of some of them have almost a romantic interest, especially in those days of incipient revolution when the English Church became obnoxious on political grounds. The eccentric Samuel Peters furnishes as grotesque a specimen of the oddities of clerical character as can be found in any divine of the Puritan stock. The stalwart frame, indomitable spirit, restless industry, and strangely diversified experiences of good old Bishop Chase, have their fitting record, as have also the saintly virtues of Bishops White and Griswold; and neither of these venerable men could have had his personality more clearly figured to the reader's eye by an entire volume, than it is in the *résumé* of life-incidents by Dr. Sprague, with the accompanying letters of his correspondents. Drs. Thomas Lyell, Hugh Smith, and William Croswell are portrayed in characters which commend them to the fondest remembrance. Among men less known to fame, we have a precious memorial of Rev. William Chisholm, one of the spirits on which nature, learning, and the grace of God shed their richest gifts with full hands, and who fell a martyr to his pious labors during the pestilence in Portsmouth, Virginia. Among the most attractive of these sketches is that of the life and character of Arthur Carey, whose ordination was opposed on the ground of his alleged tendency to Romanism, but who, whatever his opinions, left — too early, were it not in God's best time — a memory rarely equalled in the beauty of holiness. But there is no need of our multiplying specifications, where there is hardly a name that has not its strong claims upon the reader for historical associations, eminent position, or signal excellence of mind, character, and work. Dr. Sprague has been warmly and ably seconded in his labor of love by the prelates and clergy of the Episcopal Church; yet they will concur with us in conceding to him the virtual authorship of the volume. We doubt whether any other man in the country could command such cheerful and assiduous co-operation as has been rendered to his urbanity, catholic sympathies, and unsurpassed skill in finding access always to the best authorities. We are glad to know that the residue of this great work is in an advanced state of preparation, so that the remaining volumes will appear as rapidly as they can be carried through the press.

14. — *Willard Memoir; or, Life and Times of Major Simon Willard; with Notices of Three Generations of his Descendants, and Two Collateral Branches in the United States; also some Account of the Name and Family in Europe, from an Early Day.* By JOSEPH WILLARD. With three engravings. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 471.

To those who know Mr. Willard, this title is ample guaranty for the book to which it belongs. There are antiquaries, who thresh the sheaves of history, throw away the grain, and fill weary volumes with the chaff. There are others who give us the kernel with the husk; and those who cannot digest the husks find enough for nourishment and delight without them. It cannot be denied, that in this volume there is much which could feed only an antiquary, or perchance a Willard loyal to the name. But there is a great deal more which is illustrative of times, manners, opinions, and general history. Simon Willard came to this country in 1634, and died in 1676. He was a prominent man in the civil and military affairs of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Province of Massachusetts, and his biography is a history of that eventful period from his point of view. The thoroughness of the author's researches has left nothing hidden that could be brought to light; and the volume is not only entertaining and instructive to the general reader, but full of the kind of materials which the historian needs in order to reproduce the form and features of a long-past and unfamiliar age. It is, in every sense, a most noteworthy and valuable work.

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15. — *The New Testament, translated from the Original Greek, with Chronological Arrangement of the Sacred Books, and Improved Division of Chapters and Verses.* By LEICESTER AMBROSE SAWYER. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 423.

THIS, while far from being the great work which was announced in the pompous advertisements that heralded its publication, is by no means the utterly worthless book which some newspaper critics have declared it to be. Had it been modestly issued, it would have found a limited circulation, and been of some service in the advancement of Biblical knowledge. It has the merit of adhering closely, (except in a few specified instances,) to the text of Tischendorf, which most critics regard as the purest extant. Not a few of the renderings are in conformity with the judgment of the best commentators; and, so far as the

sense is concerned, many of the departures from the common version are for the better. But, on many texts, we think we see evidence that the translator had not made himself acquainted with the latest results of criticism, and there remain very numerous obscurities which more thorough study would have enabled him to elucidate. We see no evidence of the profound and comprehensive scholarship which should have preceded so bold an enterprise. But the chief blemish of the volume is the utter lack of good taste which it exhibits. There is not a chapter which our reverence for the sacred record would suffer us to read aloud to a promiscuous assembly. A strange passion for the familiar and the colloquial defaces even the most solemn utterances of the Saviour, and the most touching scenes of his closing hours. "Thee," "thou," and "thy" are changed for the plural pronoun in every instance except in addresses to the Deity. Much of the good old Saxon of our common version is discarded. For "Why cumbereth it the ground?" we have, "Why should it make the ground unproductive?" Elizabeth's neighbors "congratulated her" on the birth of her son. The ravens "have no private room." "This destructible must put on indestructibleness." The cherubs have "each six wings apiece." The "voice in the midst of the four cherubs" cries, "A chœnix [a quart] of wheat for a denarius [fourteen cents], and three chœnices of barley for a denarius; and injure not the oil and the wine."

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16. — *Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting the One System of God.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858. 12mo. pp. 528.

THIS work it is impossible even to characterize, much less to criticise, in the brief space which we can now give to it. By Nature Dr. Bushnell understands those processes and events which occur in accordance with fixed laws of causation, whether they are effected by force inherent in each separate cause, or whether they merely represent a direct action of the Deity always the same under the same circumstances; while the Supernatural includes all those phenomena, physical and spiritual, which are not in the chain of natural cause and effect. These two systems, according to our author, are concurrent at all times in the universe. Miracles are not confined to peculiar epochs of the world's history, but are a part of every day's experience. A very large proportion of man's spiritual history falls under this head. In his action upon the human soul, God is perpetually crossing or superseding the order of natural causation; and the powers and operations of the re-

generated spirit fall, for the most part, within the lines of the supernatural. Nor have external miracles wholly ceased. The emergent necessity that they should occupy a conspicuous place in the eyes of the world has, indeed, not occurred since the primitive age of Christianity; but it is by no means certain that it will not recur, — that it may not now be near at hand. Meanwhile, no age has been without its authentic phenomena, which admit only a miraculous interpretation. This theory attaches an antecedent probability to the prophecies, revelations, and miracles recorded in the Scriptures, which, so far from being intrusions upon, or interludes in, the order and harmony of the universe, are coincident with the whole system of its administration. We accept this theory in its essential features, and rejoice in the ability and lucidness with which it is here developed. Nor yet have we any conclusive argument to urge against such miracles, in the common sense of the word, as are alleged to have taken place in modern times, and even within Dr. Bushnell's own knowledge. Yet, in the chapter devoted to this subject, some things are related to which we are hardly prepared to give full credence. They may have taken place; but they certainly need a closer investigation than we feel sure has been given to them. But whatever may be thought of this one chapter, it may be set aside without invalidating the general course of argument, in which the author has rendered a most important service to Christian faith, both as regards the external facts of our religion and the more recondite experiences of its true disciples.

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17. — *Suffolk Surnames.* By N. I. Bowditch. Second Edition, enlarged. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1858. 8vo. pp. 383.

Mr. Bowditch's plan commenced with "Suffolk Surnames," but has been so enlarged as to embrace a very extensive survey of our own country, several copious English lists, and not a few names that are neither American nor English. The subject certainly is of the driest, — not so its treatment. The book is full both of wit and humor. It classifies surnames in the several groups suggested by their meaning or derivation, and arranges each group in such a way as to bring out the curiosities, oddities, and incongruities of this department of literature in the fullest prominence. At the same time there is a liberal interspersion of personal anecdotes, always entertaining, sometimes valuable; and without the show of learning and the elaborate dulness of Lower's book, and other English works on the subject, Mr. Bowditch has contrived to give us nearly all of erudition which properly belongs to it.

18. — *A Text-Book of Church History.* By Dr. JOHN C. L. GIESELER. Translated from the Fourth Revised German Edition, by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History in the Lancashire Independent College. A New American Edition, revised and edited by HENRY B. SMITH, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vols. I.–III. New York: Harper and Brothers. 8vo. pp. 576, 624, 539.

GIESELER'S Church History fills a place in which it has no competitor, and in which it will be prized in precise proportion to the scholarly tastes and aims of those who use it. The mere reader will have nothing to do with it; the true student would hardly exchange it for all else that is within easy reach in the same department. The text is a mere syllabus of results and facts, drawn up with a sententious brevity entirely non-German. The notes furnish copious references to original authorities, numerous verificative quotations, and, in fine, a mass of materials such as could be gathered from no library in America, and but few in Europe. At the time of Gieseler's death, the work was completed down to the year 1648. The present publication corresponds with the first two volumes of the original, and extends to 1517. The first English translation was made by Rev. Francis Cunningham, and published in Philadelphia in 1836. This was admirably executed, but in part from an earlier and less perfect edition than was used for the version now under our notice. It is impossible for us to say how largely Professor Smith has contributed to make these volumes all that they are; for we have never seen the English edition on which they are founded. But the reputation of the American editor, and the high order of critical care which has evidently been bestowed on this American issue, incline us to ascribe a large proportion of its value to the labors of one so well fitted for an editorial task which demanded equal taste, judgment, and learning.

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19. — *History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Author of the History of the Apostolic Church. *From the Birth of Christ to the Reign of Constantine*, A. D. 1–311. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 8vo. pp. 535.

WITH this book we are greatly pleased. It is not so much a chronicle of facts, as an exhibition of the Christian life of the early centuries. At the commencement of each section a list of authorities for its contents is given, and from the sources thus indicated the author

furnishes a free and graceful narrative of what is properly embraced under the title. In following out this plan, Dr. Schaff often states and defends his own opinions on disputed topics of dogmatic and ritual history, but always with a fair presentation of opposing opinions and arguments, and in a kind and tolerant spirit. He devotes a larger proportional space than is often given to the literature of the period, and to the successive stages and agencies in the internal development of doctrine and church life. The work is equally well adapted to the needs of the student and the edification of the general reader.

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20. — 1. *Sermons to the Churches.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 281.
2. *Discourses on Common Topics of Christian Faith and Practice.* By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858. 8vo. pp. 463.
3. *Practical Sermons.* By NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR, D. D., late Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College. New York: Clark, Austin, and Smith. 1858. 12mo. pp. 455.

IN no department can we mark a more decided progress, and a higher standard of excellence, than in our pulpit literature. It has parted with its formalism and dogmatism, and is now instinct with earnest life. Each sect adheres to its creed, with no less tenacity than in earlier times; but the approved Christian teacher no longer seeks primarily to indoctrinate his flock, and to beat back the encroachments of heresy. On the other hand, dogmas are vivified into spiritual forces, and the aim is to incarnate them in the emotional and active life of the hearers, and to render them potent in the rebuke of actual sin, the development of Christian consciousness, and the direction of religious purpose and endeavor. In these aspects, the three volumes before us merit emphatic commendation.

Dr Wayland's volume consists of eight elaborate discourses delivered on public occasions. They have less rhetorical beauty than some of his former sermons; but for directness, energy, fervor of appeal and invective, and pungency of ethical demonstration, they are unsurpassed, and almost unequalled. They breathe equally the spirit of the eremite forerunner of the Saviour, and of the loving Apostle that rested on his bosom. They are addressed in great part to professing Christians, exhibiting with unsparing fidelity their deficiencies, as tried by the evangelic standard, and urging them to realize, in soul and life, all the contents of the Christian name. Could sermons of like tenor and aim be deliv-

ered in every pulpit in our land, they could hardly fail to be the precursors of that reformation in the churches which alone can act effectually and permanently on the masses of unbelief, indifference, and profligacy.

Dr. Alexander's sermons were delivered in New York, and are just such sermons as are needed in the great metropolis. They treat of fashionable vices, current literature, amusements, phases of unbelief, the temptations of a business life, and the wide range of subjects suggested by the needs of the place and the tendencies of the age. They draw their illustrations from the very topics most familiar to the minds of the hearers. They are evangelical in tone, simple and chaste in style, uncompromisingly severe in the denunciation of falsity and wrong, and, at the same time, not deficient in tenderness and unction.

Professor Taylor's sermons differ widely in character from the last-named series. Not less practical, they are more exclusively spiritual. Though preached while he was a city pastor, they are addressed to his hearers, not as liable to peculiar temptations or called to peculiar duties, but as immortal souls, and either saints or sinners. The inner life, the consolations and joys of piety, the goodness of God, the foreshining glories of heaven, are presented with an intensity and vividness indicating the rich and profound depths of the author's own happy experience; while, with equal fervor, yet in a spirit always gentle and loving, the terrors of the violated law are portrayed, and the overtures of the Divine mercy held forth to the impenitent. The mould in which the sermons are cast retains something of the old-school formalism; while, in style and manner, they belong, no less than the volumes with which we have classed them, to the living pulpit of a living age.

21.— *The Olive and the Pine.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 156.

Of this volume, which will see the light with the new year, we have received but a few leaves, most of them olive-leaves gathered during a year's residence in sunny Spain, bright and green as if fresh plucked. It is the initial volume of a new poet, or poetess we will say for once, for the sake of explicitness, though we ordinarily abjure the word. The First Part is a rhythmical record of travel and experience in the land of the olive, vividly graphic, rich in poetical thought and imagery, free in versification, the separate pieces in a very considerable variety of well-chosen measures. The Second Part consists of poems founded on New England scenes and incidents, and is characterized by equal merit of sentiment and expression. The poems as a whole indicate a

keen eye for the features of landscape, a quick sense of the phases of human life, delicate sensibilities, and a highly cultivated taste. They have nothing in them of the intense and passionate vein, which has been of late worked to excess; but, for all this, they are only the more genuine heart-utterances, and must find a more ready access to the appreciation and sympathy of our better public.

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22. — *The Household Book of Poetry.* Collected and edited by CHARLES A. DANA. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 798.

"THE purpose of this book," according to the Preface, "is to comprise within the bounds of a single volume whatever is truly beautiful and admirable among the minor poems of the English language." We rejoice to say that this purpose is very far from being fulfilled. We miss many poems even more "beautiful and admirable" than the greater part of the contents of this volume. But that unfortunate introductory sentence is the only thing in the book which does not merit the thanks of our public. The selection is made with great skill and judgment, and from so wide a range of authors that hardly a name of acknowledged merit is overlooked. Many of the poems, and some of the choicest, will be new to nearly every reader, being drawn from sources accessible only to the searcher after hidden treasure. "Especial care has also been taken to give every poem entire and unmutilated, as well as in the most authentic form which could be procured"; and this, though obviously the demand of simple honesty, is a demand so often ignored, that compliance with it becomes a signal merit. The arrangement is novel; the subjects being classified, and the scattered poems of each author being brought together only by title in an alphabetical index of the authors.

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23. — *The Courtship of Miles Standish, and Other Poems.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 215.

READING "The Courtship of Miles Standish" aloud has made us almost converts to the adoption of the classic hexameter for English poetry. When the tongue is once accustomed to the movement, no other measure sustains for the ear a flow of melody so continuous and unrippled. Then, too, a hexameter verse is complete in itself, — it is in no need of rhyme, while iambic or trochaic verse without rhyme is

"blank" in fact, as in name, and, though it may flood the inward sense with poetic delight, it still leaves in the outward ear an unsatisfied craving. We are by no means solicitous to determine the merit of this as compared with Mr. Longfellow's other poems. We have enjoyed it, and thank him for it. It contains some descriptive passages of unparalleled beauty; and, if portions of it are woven from the common fabric of every-day life, the more true are they to the massive and resolute, yet quite prosaic characters of the Pilgrim Fathers and their daughters. Miles Standish was not a paladin, nor was John Alden a knight-errant, and Priscilla Mullins was a plain, outspoken girl, without a particle of romance about her; and, while we might not have chosen them for Mr. Longfellow's heroes and heroine, we are glad that he has chosen them, and has given us so lifelike pictures of them. The critics who find an anachronism in the treadle of the spinning-wheel are the best vouchers for the general verisimilitude of the story; for they show that they have applied the micrometer to every part of it. Among the other poems in this volume are some of the author's best pieces, such as "The Ladder of St. Augustine," "The Two Angels," "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," and "My Lost Youth."

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24. — *The Age of Chivalry.* Part I. *King Arthur and his Knights.* Part II. *The Mabinogeon; or, Welsh Popular Tales.* By THOMAS BULFINCH, Author of "The Age of Fable." Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 414.

MR. BULFINCH'S "Age of Fable," we pronounced, in certain regards, the best among many similar works; his "Age of Chivalry," no less worthy of our commendation, is, we believe, unique in its kind. We are acquainted with no other compendious manual of the mythology of the Middle Age, — a mythology with as fixed forms, as commonly received traditions, and as intimate relations with language, literature, and life in its own and succeeding times, as the body of Greek or Roman fable. This book, therefore, deserves to be studied by those who are perpetually finding in Dante and Ariosto, Spenser and the old English poets, and equally in the romance and poetry of our own day, allusions to mediæval myths, which convey to them little or no meaning. At the same time, those familiar with the ground will not fail to read with fresh interest these stories in the exceedingly graceful guise in which Mr. Bulfinch has clothed them. We can now only express our emphatic and unqualified praise, alike of matter and manner, alike as to what the book contains and what it excludes, hoping in a future number

to make it the text for a prolonged discussion of the myths of "the age of chivalry." We ought to add, that the work not only appears in beautiful typography, and with appropriate illustrations, but that, in addition to such copies as will be sought for a permanent place in the library, there are for holiday use certain ornamented copies with splendidly illuminated and colored engravings.

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25. — *The Daily Counsellor.* By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Hartford: Brown and Gross. 1859. 12mo. pp. 402.

We have here a brief poem, founded on a text of Scripture, for every day in the year. It is a volume designed as a companion and guide for private devotion. Such a book, from one whose mere name is a sufficient guaranty for the singleness of purpose in which it had birth, is above criticism. Yet it need not shrink from a severe critical test. The separate pieces are, with hardly an exception, of a high order of positive merit, both rhythmical and poetical, while, negatively, they are free from that besetting sin of hymn-writers and devotional poets, — the overlaying of sacred and Scriptural thought with their own conceits and prettinesses.

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26. — *A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, A. M.* By Alvah Hovey, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1858. 12mo. pp. 369.

We have been doubly disappointed in this book. As a biography, it fails to meet our expectations; as a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of New England, it has an importance which only those who read it can adequately estimate. Mr. Backus was a man of fervent piety, intense zeal, unresting energy, unflinching tenacity of purpose; but of the delicate tracery of character and the more strictly personal experiences which give individuality and attract interest to a memoir, the surviving records are few and unemphatic. But for the greater part of the last century he stood in the van of the conflict for religious freedom waged by the Baptists with the dominant sect in Massachusetts. Few of our readers, perhaps, are aware of the extent to which, before, during, and for twenty years after the Revolution, the Baptists were oppressed by the Congregationalists. In numerous instances, their goods were distrained for the support of the regular ministry; not only men, but women, were imprisoned and shamefully maltreated for the

non-payment of parish taxes; and after the law exempted regular members of their societies from parochial assessment, collectors, constables, magistrates, and even the higher courts, often suffered the most pitiful legal quibbles to cut them off from this immunity. It is a disgraceful portion of our history, and in the present equality of all sects in the eye of the law, and the honored position held by the Baptists, it is difficult for us to believe that such things have been so recently; but here is ample documentary evidence, and it deserves to be faithfully read and diligently pondered, that we may know how fast and how far our community has made progress in the recognition of those rights of conscience, no less fundamental and more sacred than the political freedom for which many of the foremost abettors of this religious persecution put property and life at hazard.

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27. — *Black's Atlas of North America. A Series of Twenty Maps, constructed and engraved by* JOHN BARTHOLOMEW. *With Introductory Letter-press, and a Complete Index.* Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1856. 39 folio pages of Letter-press.

WE have, within the last three months, had occasion repeatedly to refer to this Atlas, and hesitate not to pronounce it, on every account, by far the best Atlas of North America extant. So far as we have tested it, it is accurate, minute, and thorough. Its execution is in the very best style. The outlines are strong, the maps well tinted and shaded, the type clear and always legible, the most crowded portions unblurred. It may seem humiliating to send to Edinburgh for maps of our own continent; but we are not so stubborn adherents to the "American system" as to prefer inferior home manufactures to the superior products of the other hemisphere. We are indebted for the copy before us to Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., and we trust that they may find a prompt demand for a work of so essential service and use.

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28. — *From New York to Delhi, by Way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China.* By ROBERT B. MINTURN, Jr. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 488.

THIS volume consists principally of the narrative of very extensive inland tours in China and India. The author is a keen and careful observer, and a highly entertaining writer. He visited regions which few European or American travellers have described, and he is equally skilled

and faithful in his delineation of natural scenery, works of art, and human manners and character. On a few subjects he contradicts our previous impressions. He places the Chinese higher and the Hindoos lower on the scale of humanity than we were prepared to find them. He takes what we cannot but fear is too low an estimate of the evils resulting from the opium-trade and opium-smoking. But even on this last subject, his evidently pure and high moral standard attaches weight to his judgment, though with us it does not countervail the abundant opposing testimony that has been offered by disinterested witnesses. On comparing some of his statements with those of Mr. Fletcher, in his work on Brazil, we are inclined to believe that his sojourn at Rio de Janeiro was too brief for the perfect accuracy of information, the evidences of which are patent in every other part of the volume. But, with these slight abatements, if they are to be made, it is many months since so well digested, instructive, and interesting a record of travel has come under our cognizance.

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29. — *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States.* By JOHN CODMAN HURD, Counsellor at Law. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 617.

MR. HURD is establishing by this work his claim to be regarded as among the most sound, able, and learned of the legal writers of his country and age. He commences with the elementary principles of jurisprudence, of natural and positive, municipal and international law, and then traces, on fundamental principles, the effect of international law on the personal conditions of freedom and bondage. He then follows out in detail the effect in this regard of the English law on the American colonies, and the legal history of chattel slavery under the Roman law, in Christianized Europe, in the colonial possessions of England, and under the Constitution of the United States. By these preliminary investigations, which occupy more than half of the first volume, he establishes a basis for the consideration of the present legal attitude of slavery in the States and Territories of our Union, under the law and jurisdiction of the general government, and proposes in the remaining volume to pass in review the history and condition of municipal law as regards slavery in the several States. The work is strictly legal, and excludes all ethical and political discussion. The mass of authorities quoted, and the evidences of patient labor and profound thought on every page, assimilate the work to those masterpieces of German scholarship, which are the achievement of a lifetime and the

wonder of an age. At the same time, there is a lucidness of arrangement and a precision of method, which happily distinguish it from the shapeless masses of erudition that have been so often issued from the German press. Mr. Hurd's style is not always as transparent as his method, and a sentence sometimes needs a second reading to be thoroughly understood; but his thought is always clear, and the labor bestowed in enucleating it is never wasted.

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30. — *The History of the United States, from their Colonization to the End of the Twenty-Sixth Congress, in* 1841. By GEORGE TUCKER. In 4 vols. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott & Co. 1856 – 1858. 8vo. pp. 670, 518, 526, 507.

MR. TUCKER gives, in a single chapter of a hundred pages, a *résumé* of the history of the Colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence, and the rest of the work is devoted to the Confederation and the United States. It is a political and national history, rather than a comprehensive narrative of important events, and the author's evident aim is to present from the Southern point of view such questions and subjects as have a sectional bearing, and have furnished the grounds of sectional controversy. Though, in the portions of the work which we have found time to read, we often dissent from him, we render our cordial testimony to his candor, generosity, and patriotism. He occupies the ground, which he has an undoubted right to occupy, of a friend of Southern institutions, with the full recognition, not only of the right of dissent, but of the *prima facie* reasons for it, on the part of those whose social environments and political training have been widely different from his own. He is a friend of the Union, and an advocate for mutual concessions, and believes that the slave question will, in process of time, become more manageable, by the proportionate diminution of the colored race, and by emigration to Africa, especially if it should receive efficient aid from the State and General governments. We regret that we can now afford so little space to a work so able, and hope at some future time to recur to it for the more thorough examination of the views which it maintains, and the policy which it defends. Meanwhile we commend it to our Northern readers, as adapted to make them, not less strenuous advocates of freedom, but more tolerant of opinions which must be understood and appreciated before they can be successfully encountered, on the floor of Congress or from the press. The *argumentum ad invidiam* has already been urged to a dangerous extremity; freedom needs far different weapons and champions.

31. — *The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge.* Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY AND CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. IV. *Brownson—Chartres.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 766.

WE can only reiterate, with even stronger emphasis, the commendation which we have twice given of this work. The fourth volume contains, we think, a greater number of articles that bear the character of elaborate treatises than either of the preceding; and in our examination of its pages we miss no title that deserves a place, and find no traces of a slackened hand on the part of editors or collaborators. In our last number we gave voice to a complaint that had been made to us, of the omission of accents in foreign names. On examination we find that this omission seldom occurs, except where the established usages of the press sanction it in a particular type, or in the case of those Oriental names in which the accents are often arbitrarily inserted, and with no uniformity of practice.

32. — *Arabian Days' Entertainments.* Translated from the German, by HERBERT PELHAM CURTIS. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 434.

WE have here a collection of stories hardly less weird, wild, rich, and fascinating, than those of the "Arabian Nights." We suppose them of German authorship; but they are thoroughly Oriental in tone and coloring. They will be the fresh joy of children, and will revive in their elders the gorgeous forms, the fascinating horrors, the dazzling visions, the preternatural made natural, which took so strong and enduring hold on the imagination in their early days. The book came to hand just as we were closing our labor for the quarter; but the stroke of midnight could not persuade us to drop it. It will be eagerly read, and warmly appreciated, by young and old. The translation is admirably executed, — so well that it bears all the best marks of original authorship; and aptly designed and finely engraved illustrations enhance the interest and worth of as charming a gift-book as the holiday season can furnish.

33. — *Struggles of the Early Christians, from the Days of our Saviour to the Reign of Constantine.* With an Introduction by REV. F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 147.

THIS little book has been prepared from a series of lessons written

out by a lady for her Sunday-school class. They were compiled with no ulterior design; but are now given to the public because the writer had reason to believe that they had served their purpose, at once in imparting instruction with reference to a momentous portion of history for which there was no easily accessible manual within convenient limits, and in awakening fervent sympathy with the piety and heroism of the martyr-age. The work is admirably well done, — all the better because the making of a book was the unpremeditated result, and not the aim. We would commend it not only to the young, but to readers of every age who have not ready access to more extended compends of Christian history. The "struggles of the early Christians" are precious, not only as furnishing edifying examples, but as affording an essential and unanswerable attestation to the Divine power of our religion, and the substantial authenticity of its records. Those whose sufferings are here depicted lived near enough to the Christian era to know whether there was reasonable doubt of the facts that underlie the truths of our religion, and it is not in the heart of man to incur ignominy, torture, and death, when a reasonable doubt opens a door of escape. The victims of the early persecutions were literally *martyrs*, *witnesses*, to what they had the means of ascertaining and every conceivable motive to ascertain. Indeed, what has been transmitted to us of the writings of Celsus and Porphyry authorizes the belief that the miraculous facts of the evangelic narrative were admitted on all hands, the only controversy being as to the agency to which they were to be ascribed, whether Divine or demoniac. For the purpose of evidence, the work before us is complete, as we cannot fitly extend the period of knowledge from what were equivalent to first-hand sources later than the close of the second century from the Apostolic age. And we may not unaptly trace the wisdom of Providence in permitting the age of conflict and suffering for the faith to last as long as its adherents could bear luculent testimony to the literal truth of the facts on which their belief rested. Subsequent martyrdoms are of worth as indicating the power of religious trust and consecration, but not as the testimonies of those who could speak with authority to men of all times and lands.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

A Sermon, addressed to the Second Presbyterian Congregation, Albany, on Sunday Morning, September 5, 1858, on the Completion of the Atlantic Telegraph. By William B. Sprague, D. D., their Pastor. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen. 1858.

Christianity neither Ascetic nor Fanatic. A Sermon, preached at Trinity Church, New Haven, on the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1858, by the Rev. D. R. Goodwin, D. D., President of Trinity College. New Haven Sidney Babcock. 1858.

The Central Power of the Gospel: a Sermon, preached at the Installation of Rev. Grindall Reynolds, as Pastor of the First Church in Concord, Mass., July 8, 1858. By Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D., Pastor of the Second Church, Boston. With the Charge, Right-Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the Society. Boston. 1858.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of Hon. James Richardson, delivered before the First Parish in Dedham, June 27, 1858. By Alvan Lamson, D. D. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

An Address delivered before the Alumni of the Divinity School in Harvard University, Tuesday, July 20, 1858. By C. A. Bartol. Boston. 1858.

The Pulpit and Rostrum. Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, &c., Phonographically reported by Andrew J. Graham, Charles B. Collar, and Felix G. Fontaine. No. 1. Nov. 15, 1858. Sermon on Christian Recreation and Unchristian Amusement, by Rev. T. L. Cu ler, delivered at Cooper Institute, New York, October 24, 1858. New York: E. D. Barker.

The Mathematical Monthly. Edited by J. D. Runkle, A. M., A. A. S. Vol. I. No. 1. October, 1858. Cambridge: John Bartlett.

The Democratic Age. Statesmanship, Science, Art, Literature, and Progress. Edited by C. Edwards Lester. Vol. I. No. 1. October, 1858. New York: Hale, Valentine, & Co.

Oberlin Students' Monthly. Devoted to Religion, Politics, and Literature. Vol. I. No. 1. November, 1858. Oberlin: Shankland & Harmon.

The Fortieth Annual Report of the Superintendents of the Portsmouth South Parish Sabbath School. Presented June 13, 1858. Portsmouth. 1858.

The Transactions of the New Hampshire Medical Society, Sixty-eighth Anniversary, held at Concord, June 1st and 2d, 1858. Manchester. 1858.

Forty-ninth Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, presented at the Meeting held at Detroit, Michigan, September 7–10, 1858. Boston. 1858. 12mo. pp. 212.

Library of Select Novels. No. 209. My Lady Ludlow. A Novel. By Mrs. Gaskell. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.

Ernest Carroll, or Artist-Life in Italy. A Novel in Three Parts. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 344.

Physic and its Phases; or, The Rule of Right and the Reign of Wrong. A Didactic Poem, in Six Books. By Alciphron, "The Modern Athenian." Second Edition. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 103.

The Laying of the Cable, or the Ocean Telegraph; being a Complete and Authentic Narrative of the Attempt to lay the Cable across the Entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1855, and of the Three Atlantic Telegraph Expeditions of 1857 and 1858. With a detailed Account of the Mechanical and Scientific Part of the Work, as well as Biographical Sketches of Messrs. Cyrus W. Field, William E. Everett, and other prominent Persons connected with the Enterprise. Illustrated with Portraits, Engravings of the Machinery, and Scenes in the Progress of the Great Work. By John Mullaly, Historian of the Enterprise. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 329.

Safe Home; or the Last Days and Happy Death of Fannie Kenyon. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.

Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Directors of the New Hampshire Bible Society, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Hampton, August 25, 1858. Concord. 1858.

Speech of Henry Waller, Esq., on the Dred Scott Decision, and other National Issues involved in the Senatorial Canvass in Illinois. Delivered on Friday Evening, October 22, 1858, in Light Guard Hall, Chicago. Chicago. 1858.

Sixty-second Annual Report of the Boston Dispensary. Boston. 1858.

Introduction of the Power Loom, and Origin of Lowell. By Nathan Appleton. Lowell. 1858.

Specimens of the Garbling of Letters, by the Majority of the Trustees of the Dudley Observatory. Albany. 1858.

Paper on New England Architecture, read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 4, 1858. By Rev. N. H. Chamberlain, of Canton. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

Calendar of Trinity College, Hartford, 1858 – 59. Hartford. 1858.

The Battle of Life. An Address, delivered before the Thalian and Phi-Delta Societies of Oglethorpe University, Georgia. By Hon. Hiram Walker. Macon. 1858.

A Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors, and Students of Lawrence Academy, Groton, Mass. October, 1858. Groton. 1858.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University, for the Academical Year, 1858 – 59. First Term. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1858.

Harvard University. 1858 – 59. Medical Department. Announcement of the Medical Course, commencing on the First Wednesday in November, 1858. Boston. 1858.

Catalogus Senatus Academici, et eorum, qui Munera et Officia gesserunt, quique alicujus Gradus Laurea donati sunt, in Collegio Bowdoinensi, Brunswici, in Republica Mainensi. Brunswick: Joseph Griffin. 1858.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University, 1858 – 59. Providence. 1858.

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Three Discourses upon the Religious History of Bowdoin College, during the Administrations of Presidents McKeen, Appleton, and Allen. By Egbert C. Smyth, Collins Professor of Natural and Revealed Religion. Brunswick: J. Griffin. 1858.

The Congregational Tune-Book: being a Selection from the Standard Choral Music of the Church, together with some other Ancient and Modern Compositions, adapted to the Hymns of the "Congregational Hymn-Book," "Vestry Hymn-Book," and to Congregational Singing generally. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1858. 16mo. pp. 208.

The Congregational Hymn-Book, for the Service of the Sanctuary. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1858. 16mo. pp. 752.

The Vestry Hymn-Book, a Choice Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Social and Private Worship. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1858. 16mo. pp. 574.

Rational Cosmology: or, The Eternal Principles and the Necessary Laws of the Universe. By Laurens P. Hickok, D. D., Union College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 397.

The Municipalist. In Two Parts. New York: George Savage. 1858. 12mo. pp. 302.

Self-Made Men. By Charles C. B. Seymour. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 12mo. pp. 588.

The Higher Christian Life. By Rev. W. E. Boardman. Boston: Henry Hoyt. 1858. 12mo. pp. 330.

Electron; or, The Pranks of the Modern Puck: a Telegraphic Epic for the Times. By William C. Richards. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 84.

Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man. By S. F. Dunlap, Member of the American Oriental Society, New Haven. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 404.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Original Greek, and with Former Translations diligently compared and revised. New York: Collins & Brother. 1858. 8vo. pp. 548.

The Extent of the Atonement, in its Relation to God and the Universe. By the Rev. Thomas W. Jenkyn, D. D., late President of Coward College, London. Third Edition, carefully revised by the Author for the American Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 376.

Agnes. A Novel. By the Author of "Ida May." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 510.

Rollo in Rome. By Jacob Abbott. Boston: Brown, Taggard, & Chase. 1858. 16mo. pp. 223.

Waverley Novels. Household Edition. The Talisman. — The Two Drovers. — My Aunt Margaret's Mirror. — The Tapestried Chamber. — The

Laird's Jock. In 2 vols. — Woodstock. In 2 vols. — The Fair Maid of Perth. In 2 vols.

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Spurgeon's Gems, being Brilliant Passages from the Discourses of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 360.

Elements of Natural Philosophy, designed for Academies and High Schools. By Elias Loomis, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics and Mental Philosophy in the University of the City of New York. With Three Hundred and Sixty Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 12mo. pp. 351.

Writings of Caroline Elizabeth Jenness. With a Memoir. Boston. 1858. 8vo. pp. 275.

Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856, from Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View. Vol. IX. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 782.

Letter of the Secretary of State, transmitting a Statement of the Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Nations, for the Year ending September 30, 1857. Washington. 1858. 4to. pp. 514.

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The History of Prostitution: its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World. [Being an Official Report to the Board of Almshouse Governors of the City of New York.] By William W. Sanger, M. D., Resident Physician, Blackwell's Island, New York City. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 8vo. pp. 685.

Matthew Caraby. A Narrative of his Adventures during the Autumn of 1848, among Friends and Strangers, in Country and in Town. By Benault. New York: Mason Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 475.

The Ministry of Life. By Maria Louisa Charlesworth. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 422.

Bertram Noel. A Story for Youth. By E. J. May. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 359.

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The Aimwell Stories. Jessie, or Trying to be Somebody. By Walter Aimwell. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 320.

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A New Latin-English School Lexicon, on the Basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingerslev. By G. R. Crooks, D.D., late Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College, and A. J. Schem, A.M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 982.

History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great. By Thomas Carlyle. Vols. I. and II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. 12mo. pp. 485, 540.

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The New England Theocracy. A History of the Congregationalists in New England to the Revivals of 1740, by H. F. Uhden. With a Preface by the late Dr. Neander. Translated from the Second German Edition. By H. C. Conant, Author of "The English Bible," &c., &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 303.

Bitter-Sweet, a Poem. By J. G. Holland, Author of "The Bay Path," "Titcomb's Letters," &c. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 220.

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Meta Gray; or, What makes Home Happy. By M. J. McIntosh. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 207.

The Banks of New York, their Dealers, the Clearing-House, and the Panic of 1857. With a Financial Chart. By J. S. Gibbons. Thirty Illustrations, by Herrick. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 399.

A Will and a Way. Tales translated from the German of T. Michel and Aug. Moritz. By Trauermantel. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 213.

Life of George Washington. Written for Children. By E. Cecil. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 258.

Seedtime and Harvest. Tales translated from the German of Rosalie Koch and Maria Burg. By Trauermantel. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 291.

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The Power of Prayer, illustrated in the Wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at the Fulton Street and other Meetings in New York and elsewhere, in 1857 and 1858. By Samuel Irenæus Prime. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 373.

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Christmas Holidays at Cedar Grove. By Mrs. William Wood Seymour, Author of "Easter Holidays at Cedar Grove." New York: Daniel Dana, jr. 1858. 12mo. pp. 243.

Wild Sports in the Far West. By Frederick Gerstaecker. Translated from the German. With Eight Crayon Drawings, executed in Oil Colors, from Designs by Harrison Weir. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 396.

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